THE COLLECTED WORKS OF

MAHATMA GANDHI

XXXI

(June - November 1926)

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PREFACE

This volume covers the period June 15 to November 4, 1926, during which Gandhiji continued to observe the self-imposed vow of a year's abstention from all avoidable public engagements. This voluntary retirement for rest and quiet contemplation was broken only by two brief visits to Bombay in connection with the problems of Indians in South Africa. While staying in the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati, Gandhiji carried on his experiment on fruit diet in order to cure his constipation and conducted daily classes on the *Bhagavad Gita* and the *Ramayana*. Though he confined himself to the precincts of the Ashram, he corresponded with people in India and abroad and expressed his views on current affairs in *Navajivan* and *Young India*, which he called his weekly letters to friends who cared to follow the activities that engrossed him.

While maintaining silence on the work of the Legislatures and Hindu-Muslim quarrels, he devoted his attention to the removal of untouchability, the spinning-wheel and national education. For him the charkhas were the tiny wheels of God, which "spin slowly but most effectively" (p. 369). Spinning enabled him to identify himself with God in the form of the poor and the downtrodden. Wearing of khadi would help bring about boycott of foreign cloth, as a result of which Indians would acquire self-confidence and added strength and the country would save crores of rupees annually. With the spinning-wheel, according to Gandhiji, was bound up the well-being of the whole mass of Indian humanity. "Surely, a cause is often greater than the man. Certainly, the spinning-wheel is greater than myself" (p. 47). He continued his spinning with religious regularity.

Gandhiji described untouchability as a hydra-headed monster and felt the need, every time it lifted its head, to deal a blow. The notions of high and low, according to him, were the fruit and symptom of the disease of untouchability. It was a painful discovery to him that even after five years of continuous propaganda against untouchability there were educated people to support such an immoral and evil custom. Gandhiji wrote with some feeling: "If some well-known character in religious books sinned against God or man, is that a warrant for our repeating the sin? It is enough for us to be told, once for all, [that] *Truth* is the only that matters in the world, that *Truth* is God" (p. 212).

In an article, "Tyranny of Words", Gandhiji said reason and rationalism had to yield first place to faith and prayer. Rationalism, according to him, was a hideous monster when it claimed omnipotence for itself for "works without faith and prayer are like an artificial flower that has no fragrance" (p. 498). He did not want suppression of reason but due recognition of faith which sanctified reason itself. Prayer was an essential part of his being. He could do without food but not without prayer. According to him, "A man may live without eating for days on end. He does not live without worship for a single minute. He may not acknowledge the fact as many an ignorant man may not acknowledge the possession of lungs or the fact of circulation of blood" (p. 102). To a correspondent he wrote, "The prayer is meant for daily purification. It is to the heart and mind what a daily bath is to the body" (p. 225). Prayer was not an asking—it was a longing of the soul. Replying through the columns of *Young India* to the principal of a national institution who had no faith in prayers, Gandhiji observed: "God's existence cannot be, does not need to be, proved. God is" (p. 440). It was this faith that enabled him in the most trying situations to preserve inner peace and maintain a tranquil course.

Saturated with the spirit of ahimsa and regarding non-violence and truth as two lungs without which he could not breathe, he saw with ever-increasing clarity and conviction the immense power of ahimsa and the littleness of man. He wrote in *Young India*: "Non-violence is the greatest force man has been endowed with. Truth is the only goal he has. For God is none other than Truth. But Truth cannot be, never will be, reached except through non-violence" (p. 141). He wanted this message to reach every man and woman. Without non-violence, which he called the Law of Love, there could be no peace—it could only be an armed peace. The cry for peace would be a cry in the wilderness, so long as the spirit of non-violence did not dominate millions of men and women.

Non-violence was not a cover for cowardice, but it was the supreme virtue of the brave. Exercise of non-violence required far greater bravery than that of swordsmanship. Cowardice was wholly inconsistent with non-violence. Non-violence presupposed the ability to strike and was a conscious, deliberate restraint on vengeance. "But vengeance is any day superior to passive, effeminate and helpless submission. Forgiveness is higher still. Vengeance too is weakness" (p. 292).

In a series of eight articles, "Is This Humanity?", Gandhiji

boldly and frankly defended the killing of stray dogs. He counselled his critics, friendly or hostile, to bear with him. He had often the misfortune of being misunderstood but he saw no contradiction in his stand and remained unmoved. Angry and irrelevant argument would not convince him. For he said he who was angry was guilty of *himsa*. "Anger is the enemy of ahimsa; and pride is a monster that swallows it up" (p. 489). Gandhiji's ahimsa did admit of destruction of rabid dogs or a man "found in the act of killing" (p. 487). He held that this opinion was perfectly in accord with his conception of ahimsa. In this world which was so full of *himsa* it was no easy thing to walk on the "sharp sword-edge of ahimsa" (p. 489).

His unswerving faith in non-violent non-co-operation continued to find expression in his writings and in letters to friends and strangers alike. Those who had faith would know that it was not dead but was very much alive and that it would give a very good account of itself when the darkest cloud threatened the horizon. It would be found then to be the one sheet-anchor of India's hope (p. 8).

The greatest contribution that India could make to the sum of human happiness was to attain her freedom by peaceful and truthful means. Whether such a thing would ever come to pass was more than he could say; indeed, appearances contradicted any such belief. Nevertheless, he held that India would gain her freedom only through peaceful and truthful means and no other. He stated time and again, and proved in action, his belief that means and ends were intimately interconnected. That is, good could never be achieved through bad means.

Gandhiji's service to India was but a part of his service to humanity. "One who serves another selflessly and without any attachment serves all" (p. 122). Humanity could not be served without sacrifice. Self-sacrifice therefore was the highest law for him. He gave the same advice to Indians, whether in India or in South Africa, that success ultimately depended upon themselves. There was no help, he said, in the world like self-help. He wanted the Indians in South Africa to be moderate in their demands, to speak with one voice and never to swerve even an inch from truth. He advised them to discharge their part of the contract, that is, to conform strictly to all sanitary and building regulations and, above all, to "be prepared in a body to suffer for their cause" (p. 460), for there was no salvation without suffering.

Though Gandhiji did not intervene in the Hindu-Muslim quarrels, the problem continued to exercise his mind. It was

in part a creation of the British Government which was based on distrust. Distrust, he said, involved favouritism and favouritism bred division. To prove this, he did not find it necessary to impute motives to officials of the Government. But he blamed the people primarily for the communal dissensions. For, he argued, if the people were themselves not disposed to quarrel no outside power on earth could make them do so. The policy of 'divide and rule' continued since the Government considered its interests to be antagonistic to those of the people. It was being demonstrated daily that swaraj was an impossibility without Hindu-Muslim unity. The situation was only seemingly hopeless and he had not a shadow of doubt that, at the end, the people would feel stronger and purer because there would be some who did not want this feud and who believed in non-violence as the final rock. He was optimistic enough to believe that unity would come "in spite of ourselves" for where man's efforts might fail, God's would succeed, and His government was not based upon a 'divide and rule' policy (p. 291).

In a series of articles entitled "Towards Moral Bankruptcy" condemning free play of animal passions, Gandhiji advocated continence and moral restraint to achieve birth-control. He quoted liberally from M. Paul Bureau's French book *L' Indiscipline des Moeurs* which scientifically examined the problem and concluded with Tom Mann's saying: "The future is for the nations who are chaste" (p. 312).

Several correspondents criticized Gandhiji for his reading the New Testament with the students of the Gujarat National College. In an article entitled "Crime of Reading Bible" Gandhiji asserted that it was the duty of every cultured man or woman to read sympathetically the scriptures of the world. Claiming to be a staunch *sanatani* Hindu himself, his reverent study of other religions enabled him to "understand more clearly many an obscure passage in the Hindu scriptures" (p. 351).

A number of suggestions were sent to him by correspondents after reading the chapter "In Search of Guru" in his autobiography which was being serialized in *Young India*. But his conception of a guru was not of the ordinary, nothing but perfection could satisfy him. He was in search of one who, though in flesh, was incorruptible and unmoved by passion, free from the pairs of opposites, who would be truth and ahimsa incarnate, and who would, therefore, fear none and be feared by none. He was modest enough to say: "I must try to perfect myself before I meet the

guru in the flesh" (p. 8). Meantime, he contemplated him in spirit. He *knew* the path. It was straight and narrow like the edge of a sword. He rejoiced to walk on it.

An outstanding document in this volume is the will executed by him on October 10, 1926. In this he wrote: "I do not possess any property of my own. If, after my death, any article is found to be of my ownership, I bequeath the same to the Trustees of the Satyagraha Ashram . . . I also bequeath to the aforesaid Trustees all my rights in whatever books and whatever articles I have written or I may write hereafter, and also appoint them to administer my affairs after my death if and when necessary. The income derived from the said books and articles or from the copyrights thereof and the property found to be of my ownership is to be used for carrying out the objects of the Satyagraha Ashram" (p. 491). Thus his renunciation was complete, as was his dedication to the causes he held dear.

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text have generally been spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji, have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to Volume I of this series are to the August 1958 edition. References to *An Autobiography* cite only the Part and Chapter, in view of the varying pagination in different editions.

In the source-line, the S.N. stands for documents which are available in original at the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the Volume are also provided at the end.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CONTENTS

1. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday [June 15, 1926][1]

CHI. JAMNALAL,

There has been no letter from any of you today. I certainly hoped for one from Devdas. There is no harm if you cannot come on the 26th. But that should be only on health grounds. Bhai Amritlal Sheth[2] has sent me a list today. You may take it that when you come here you will have to spend three or four days in Kathiawar.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2067

2. LETTER TO GANGABEHN MAJMUDAR

Jeth Sud 5, 1982 [June 15, 1926]

RESPECTED GANGABEHN,

I have your letter. I find that I have not been able to persuade you. I am helpless since you would neither accept my suggestion for arbitration nor let the man sent by me inspect the goods. I am in no wise bound to buy the goods, as you seem to think. It is my duty to save the Rs. 10,000 which I have given to you. This is my last request to you. If you agree to nothing, I would be driven in desperation to approach a lawyer.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10942

[1] The letter was evidently a sequel to the letter dated June ... 'ol. XXX, p. 560. The addressee's reply bears the date June 18,

[2] Gujarati journalist and public worker, one of the leaders of K... olitical Conference

3. LETTER TO MULCHAND UTTAMBHAI PAREKH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, June 15, 1926

BHAISHRI MULCHAND,

I have your letter. I have made a minor change in your draft. In case the Ashram is closed down, it is not clear what would happen to the buildings. Would the buildings lapse to the Durbar along with the land? If there is any such idea, it should be removed. In such a contingency, the value of the buildings should be assessed by an arbitrator and we should get back half of it. The names of the trustees are all right. I return the drafts sent by you.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12189

4. TELEGRAM TO DR. SUNDRI MOHAN DAS[1]

[On or before *June 16, 1926*]

WISH FUNCTION EVERY SUCCESS.

GANDHI

Forward, 16-7-1926

5. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[2] I am moving in the matter. Only my capacity for collecting monies has suffered a check which, on occasions such as this loss to the Society, I somewhat deplore.

[1] This was sent on the first death anniversary of C. R. Das which was being observed as Chittaranjan Hospital Day.

[2] In regard to the destruction by fire of the Servants of India Society printing press at Poona, Gandhiji had written to Sastri on May 30, June 4 and June 11; *vide* Vol. XXX, pp. 506-7, 528 and 561.

I am glad you have written to Seth Ambalal[1]. I am also writing to him. Jamnalalji[2] is due here very shortly. I therefore do not propose to write to him.

Yours sincerely,

RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
DECCAN GYMKHANA P.O.
POONA CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 10996

6. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[3] for which I thank you. Hakim Saheb[4] has not yet written to me. There is a letter due from him to me apart from his promise to you to write to me. You are quite right in saying that I should be bored by any discussion on political matters, for there is nothing new to be said upon them. I cannot possibly enthuse over Councils. My politics are confined to the spinning-wheel, the removal of untouchability and the prayers for Hindu-Muslim unity, etc. These three absorb the whole of my time and attention. What is the use of my interesting [myself] in things which I cannot appreciate, which I do not understand and which even repel me? So you will see, it is not you who bore me. Come and talk to me on the usefulness of the spinning-wheel, on the ways of spreading its message of hope, instruct me on the technique of the art and you will never weary me with your talk. If you ask me to listen to the respective merits of different Council parties or candidates, then, I should be

[1] Ambalal Sarabhai, Ahmedabad textile magnate

[2] Jamnalal Bajaj

[3] This is not available.

[4] Hakim Ajmal Khan

as little eager to discuss those things as I would to discuss the claims of rival jockeys.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR
FAIRY FALLS VIEW
KODAIKANAL OBSERVATORY
S. INDIA

From a photostat: S.N. 10938

7. LETTER TO GIRDHARILAL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 16, 1926

DEAR LALA GIRDHARILAL,

I have your letter[1] with the instructive enclosure[2]. I have read both carefully. About the enclosure, I can say nothing. The points raised in your letter: By all means try to bridge the gulf that at the present moment seems to be widening between the two parties—Hindus and Mussalmans. But I adhere to my opinion that no real solution is to come at the present moment out of any effort. I see distrust everywhere. Some more fighting is unfortunately in store for us before a peaceful atmosphere is created. When each party expects to humble the other, peace is impossible. It is more over my firm conviction that this exaggerated importance we are giving to the Councils out of all proportion to their usefulness, if there ever was any, is keeping us apart. Everyone who remains outside the Councils thinks that he is losing something. And, what is true of individuals is true of communities and, therefore, there is a mad rush over getting as much representation as possible and then getting in as many men as possible with a communal taint. If you can see any good out of effort made in an atmosphere such as this, I can but admire your zeal and credulity. But I cannot enthuse over any such effort. I am sorry I cannot send you a more hopeful or rather less discouraging letter.

[1] Dated June 12, this had referred to the writer's negotiations with the Muslims for communal peace in Lahore and sought Gandhiji's advice and suggestions (S.N. 11070).

[2] A long statement on the communal problem dated June 11, addressed to Motilal Nehru (S.N. 11070)

I shall be more at home in advising about anything you might have to say on Jallianwalla Bagh.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

LALA GIRDHARILAL
CHAMBERLAIN ROAD
LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 11071

8. LETTER TO ASSISTANT EDITOR, "THE PEOPLE"

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

You ask me whether I see *The People* sometimes. I wish I could say yes to your question. But the fact is that I rarely see weekly newspapers. I glance at one or two dailies but most of my reading of newspapers and magazines I am obliged to do through deputy.

You further ask me for birthday greetings. These I send you most heartily and wish this offspring of Lalaji's[2] many happy returns of the day.

Yours sincerely,

THE ASSISTANT EDITOR
"THE PEOPLE"
12, COURT ROAD
LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19621

[1] Girdharilal had said he would write soon in regard to the Jallianwala Bagh memorial.

[2] Lajpat Rai

9. LETTER TO MOHMED HASAM CHAMAN

THE ASHRAM,
June 16, 1926

BHAISHRI MOHMED HASAM CHAMAN,

One who has a perfect understanding of *ahimsa*, who has gained spiritual knowledge, and is filled to the brim with compassion can certainly shed the turbulent body by forsaking food, drink, and so on while chanting the name of Rama. You have done a very good thing indeed in giving away five fields for the welfare of cattle.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19916

10. LETTER TO HASAN ALI

ASHRAM,
June 16, 1926

BHAISHRI HASAN ALI,

. . .[1] Among the principal fruits I took were bananas, dates, tomatoes, groundnuts and lemons. The spiritual outcome of it was this: it was then that, in all my life and in respect of all things, I found myself almost free from passion. I had to introduce changes in my diet in England when I developed intense pain in my ribs.[2] I had only myself to blame for this pain. And then I came to India and again, because of my own fault, I was afflicted with acute dysentery.[3] After this I could not recover my health no matter what means I tried. So I started taking goat's milk which I continue up to this day.[4] I would always feel sorry for having done so, but I had a desire to live for the sake of the work I was doing and it persists even now.

[1] Omission as in the source

[2] This was in 1914, when Gandhiji was in England, *en route* to India, and suffered from pleurisy; *vide* Vol. XII.

[3] In 1918; *vide* Vol. XV.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 70-1

Yielding to that desire I started taking milk which I still continue. Doctors in their researches think only of the body hence some or many of their experiments tend to kill the soul. . . .

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19917

11. NOTES

DESHBANDHU

Today[1] is the first anniversary of Deshbandhu's death. He died in harness, full of glory because full of faith. He believed in himself, in his country, because he believed in God. Up to the very last day he thought not of himself but of his country. He died for an ideal and he lives today through his ideal because it survives him. The dissensions in Bengal and the fratricidal war that is going on in India are indeed a negation of his ideal. But this aberration I hold to be merely a passing phase in working out the ideal. In the course of self-purification, we are bound to come upon steep rocks and deep ravines. We must bridge our way over the ravines and cut it through the rocks. And I have full faith that we shall overcome our difficulties. They are costing us dear. They may cost us dearer still. But no price will be greater for working out our own salvation for which Lokamanya, Deshbandhu and their predecessors lived and died.

THE POSITION OF NON-CO-OPERATORS

A friend asks:

> In the midst of so many parties in the country we hardly see where to set our feet. When so many parties are being formed, is it not desirable that those few who still believe in the boycott of Councils, Hindu-Muslim unity, etc., should consolidate their forces and re-declare their ideals? We are being accused of having turned our backs on swaraj and our creed of non-violence is being openly sneered at. At every step we are being taunted that we are wasting our time and energy. I admit that one need not be disturbed by taunts, but it does appear desirable to organize ourselves and call upon those who are of our way of thinking to join us. How long are we to have patience? How long must our faith be tried?

[1] June 16, 1926

If patience is worth anything, it must endure to the end of time. And a living faith will last in the midst of the blackest storm. Non-violence acts in a manner contrary to violence. I cannot advise the formation of an additional party. Non-violent non-co-operation can and must stand without an organized party. Non-violent non-co-operation is on its trial. Let each one who has faith in boycott of Councils, law-courts, etc., stand firm even though he may be alone in his own district. Khaddar and national schools should satisfy everyone who wants an occupation. The facts and figures I am reproducing from week to week from reports received from various khadi centres must convince the most sceptical of the progress that khadi is making, surely though slowly. And the progress that is now being made is not due to any momentary enthusiasm but it is due to a reasoned faith in khadi. If non-co-operators have faith in non-violent non-co-operation they will know that it is not dead but it is very much alive and that it will give a good account of itself when the darkest cloud threatens the horizon. It will be found then to be the one sheet-anchor of India's hope.

IN SEARCH OF GURU

As a result of my statement in Chapter I, Part II of *My Experiments with Truth*[1], that I was still in search of a guru, numerous correspondents, Hindus, Mussalmans and Christians, have favoured me with long letters telling me how to find a guru. More letters are still coming in. Some tell me actually where to go and whom to see. Some refer me to certain literature. I am grateful to all these correspondents for their solicitude for my welfare. But let them and others realize that my difficulty is fundamental. Nor does it trouble me. It is fundamental because my conception of a guru is perhaps not of the ordinary. Nothing but perfection will satisfy me. I am in search of one who, though in the flesh, is incorruptible and unmoved by passion, free from the pairs of opposites, who is truth and ahimsa incarnate and who will therefore fear none and be feared by none. Everyone gets the guru he deserves and strives for. The difficulty of finding the guru I want is thus obvious. But it does not worry me; for it follows from what I have said, that I must try to perfect myself before I meet the guru in the flesh. Till then

[1] Gandhiji's autobiography started appearing serially in *Young India*, 3-12-1925.

I must contemplate him in the spirit. My success lies in my continuous, humble, truthful striving. I *know* the path. It is straight and narrow. It is like the edge of a sword. I rejoice to walk on it. I weep when I slip. God's word is: 'He who strives never perishes.' I have implicit faith in that promise. Though therefore from my weakness I fail a thousand times, I will not lose faith but hope that I shall see the Light when the flesh has been brought under perfect subjection as some day it must. I wonder if the kind correspondents will now understand my position and cease to worry about me but join me in the search, unless they are satisfied that they have found Him.

For Managers of "Gaushalas"

The Secretary of the All-India Cow-Protection Association circulated some time ago among the managers of all known *gaushalas* and *pinjrapoles* a set of questions asking for information. Very poor response has been made to the request hitherto. Lists have been printed and they can now be supplied on application to the Secretary, All-India Cow-Protection Association, Sabarmati. Chaunde Maharaj has undertaken to visit the majority of *gaushalas* in Maharashtra and get the information personally from the managers on behalf of the Association. I trust that the managers in these places will give him all the information required. I need hardly say that the A.I.C.P.A. has no desire whatsoever to acquire ownership of or control over any of these *gaushalas*. The desire is merely to collect information, tabulate and publish it for the guidance of all trustees and managers of such institutions and to assist them with advice. It is open to them, if they so wish, to be affiliated to the Association and receive its guidance and the benefit of the assistance of experts whose services the Association hopes to be able to secure at an early date. But whether any of these institutions is affiliated or not, it will be the duty of the Association to give all the information in its possession to these societies. It is hardly necessary to state that coordination of effort on the part of nearly 1,500 *gaushalas* and their efficient management must result in the saving of many more cattle than are now saved. Affiliation would no doubt carry some responsibility on the part of those who seek affiliation. In their own interest they will be bound by rules made for their management and they will have to give a percentage of their income to the central Association. But it is entirely optional for every institution to seek or not to seek affiliation. The object of this note is merely to seek information.

South African Legislation

If anything is needed to emphasize the meaning of the warning issued by Mr. Andrews and myself, here is an extract from a South African letter:

> I feel that through the passage of the Colour Bar Bill the Government is not keeping its word with the Indian Government and the community, especially when on the top of this comes the Natal Provincial Educational Ordinance which, if passed, will mean the negation of educational rights we have, little as they are at present. In the direction of economics we see joint Councils raised under the Union Conciliation Act of 1921 in industries like furniture, printing, building, etc.—in which thousands of Indians are involved, without the Indian employees and employers being allowed to become members of the Trade Unions or Masters' Union who negotiate on behalf of the employees and employers and who go to make up the joint Councils who prepare the schedules of wages and other benefits; or, either allowed a voice in the joint Councils. Of course we have no objection to legislation aimed at bettering the conditions of workers, but at the same time what we do object to is that it is not fair to Indian employees and employers that schedules of wages be prepared which they have to abide by in which they have had no voice, and the effect of it all is the annihilation of both the Indian employer and employees.

It shows as clearly as day-light which way the wind is blowing. The Class Areas Bill[1], because so much opposition was raised against it, has been postponed but the policy underlying it is being pursued by the Union Government in a thousand other ways as instanced by the correspondent. It is impossible therefore to be too watchful about the way things are shaping in South Africa.

April Figures

The following further figures show the progress of khadi in April last more accurately, covering as they do the provinces of Bengal and Gujarat:

	Production	Sale
Bengal	Rs. 34,670-0-0	Rs. 34,470-0-0
Gujarat	Rs. 9,735-0-0	Rs. 17,052-0-0
Total	Rs. 44,405-0-0	Rs. 51,522-0-0

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXIII.

Total for other provinces as per previous reports		
	Rs. 92,542–0–0	Rs. 2,09,088–0–0
Grand Total	Rs. 1,36,947–0–0	Rs. 2,60,610–0–0

Young India, 17-6-1926

12. SOME KNOTTY POINTS

A medical friend from far-off Burma writes:

> Why do you emphasize khaddar and not swadeshi? Is not swadeshi the principle and khaddar a mere detail?

I do not regard khaddar to be a detail. Swadeshi is a theoretical term. Khaddar is the concrete and central fact of swadeshi. Swadeshi without khaddar is like the body without life, fit only to receive a decent burial or cremation. The only swadeshi cloth is khaddar. If one is to interpret swadeshi in the language of and in terms of the millions of this country, khaddar is a substantial thing in swadeshi like the air we breathe. The test of swadeshi is not the universality of the use of an article which goes under the name of swadeshi, but the universality of participation in the production or manufacture of such article. Thus considered, mill-made cloth is swadeshi only in a restricted sense. For, in its manufacture only an infinitesimal number of India's millions can take part. But in the manufacture of khaddar millions can take part. The more the merrier. With khaddar, in my opinion, is bound up the welfare of millions of human beings. Khaddar is, therefore, the largest part of swadeshi and it is the only true demonstration of it. All else follows from it. India can live even if we do not use brass buttons or tooth-picks made in India. But India cannot live if we refuse to manufacture and wear khaddar. Khaddar will cease to have this paramount importance when a more profitable employment is discovered for the idle hours of India's millions.

But says the Doctor:

> Good khaddar is costly and the ordinary variety is ugly.

I deny that any khaddar is ugly. Want of the dead-sameness of a machine-made article is not a sign of ugliness, but it is a sign of life, even as absence of sameness in the millions of leaves of a tree is no sign of its ugliness. As a matter of fact, it is the variety about the leaves which gives a tree its life-like beauty. I can picture a machine-made tree whose every leaf would be absolutely

the same size. It would look a ghastly thing, because we have not yet ceased to love the living tree. And, why should the cost of khaddar, good or bad, worry us if every penny we pay for it goes directly into the pockets of the starving millions? My experience is that in the majority of cases where people have taken to khaddar they have revised their tastes about dress. Though khaddar may be dearer yard per yard than the same quality of Manchester calico, the rejection of superfluous clothing more than balances the extra cost. Those who wish to wear fine khaddar can now obtain it at all the principal khadi centres.

The medical friend next questions the desirability of spinning and gravely suggests that if everybody would spin, the poor people who depend upon spinning for their livelihood would be losers. He forgets that those who are called upon to spin by way of sacrifice promote the khaddar atmosphere and make it possible to render spinning easier and by small inventions and discoveries make it more profitable. The wages of professional spinners cannot suffer in any way whatsoever by sacrificial spinning.

The friend then asks:

> Should doctors cease to prescribe foreign drugs and instead learn the use of Ayurvedic and Unani drugs?

I have never considered the exclusion of everything foreign under every conceivable circumstance as part of swadeshi. The broad definition of swadeshi is the use of all home-made things to the exclusion of foreign things, in so far as such use is necessary for the protection of home-industry, more especially those industries without which India will become pauperized. In my opinion, therefore, swadeshi which excludes the use of everything foreign, because it is foreign, no matter how beneficial it may be, and irrespective of the fact that it impoverishes nobody, is a narrow interpretation of swadeshi. Foreign drugs therefore, where they are highly efficacious and not otherwise objectionable, I should use without the slightest hesitation; that is, if I did not object to drugs altogether. But there is no doubt that there is among many medical men with Western diplomas a fashion, altogether harmful, of decrying Ayurvedic and Unani drugs, some of which are indeed of great potency and cheap withal. Any movement therefore on the part of those who have received a training in Western medicine to explore the possibilities of Ayurvedic and Unani systems would be most welcome and desirable.

The last question that this friend asks has been repeatedly answered in these pages: "Are you against all machinery?" My

answer is emphatically, "No". But, I am against its indiscriminate multiplication. I refuse to be dazzled by the seeming triumph of machinery. I am uncompromisingly against all destructive machinery. But simple tools and instruments and such machinery as save individual labour and lighten the burden of the millions of cottagers I should welcome.

Young India, 17-6-1926

13. *FOR MANAGERS OF KHADI CENTRES*

Readers must have noticed the interesting information I have been recently publishing about different khadi centres. I am now tempted to ask all khadi centres to send me the following particulars:

(1) Number of spinners supported, with sex, religion and, if possible, age. Wages paid to them. Their average monthly earnings from spinning. Count spun. Monthly output of yarn received. Number of villages served.

(2) If the cotton is hand-ginned, the quantity ginned and the rate paid. The number of ginners employed. Their total earnings.

(3) If carding is done by professional carders, the number of carders and sliver-makers employed. The rate of wages paid to each. The total amount paid to them per month.

(4) Number of weavers employed. The rate paid to them and total earned by them. The total output of khadi in yards, with width and in weight.

(5) Cost of khadi up to weaving. Sale price. The total of local sales. Other sales.

(6) Establishment charges. Number of men and women, paid or volunteers, working in connection with the centre.

I hope that all the superintendents who see this paragraph will kindly send me their returns. I would also add that these managers would add any further and new particulars that they may consider to be of interest to the movement.

Young India, 17-6-1926

14. KHADDAR IN NILGIRI DISTRICT

Khaddar is being hawked in the Nilgiri District, a wealthy landlord having placed at the disposal of the khaddar workers his bungalow for storing khadi and for their residence during their tour. It appears that there was an exhibition at the Government Botanical Gardens under the aegis of the Nilgiri Agri-Horticultural Society. An application was made for exhibiting khaddar and spinning-wheels there. The Secretary replied that the exhibits could not be allowed for want of space although it is stated that the Secretary assured the public that exhibits of any kind, although not for competition, were invited for giving added strength to the show.

I publish this information as it is received though it seemed difficult to believe that any Secretary would be guilty of such childishness as to refuse khadi exhibits in spite of the open invitation referred to. I shall be glad to publish any explanation that the Secretary may have to offer, if he cares to, for the conduct ascribed to him.

Young India, 17-6-1926

15. CATTLE WEALTH

The reader who has been following Sjt. V. G. Desai's writings about the cow could not have failed to notice the fact that in no other country in the world save India are cattle a burden on the land or its people. It may be said that the slaughter of cattle is not only not repugnant to the vast majority of people in other lands but they deliberately kill out superfluous cattle. One may even go further and say that in such countries there is no such thing as superfluous cattle, because cattle are actually bred for slaughter. In this argument there is no doubt considerable force. But all the writings in these pages are devoted to showing that, although the vast majority of people in India will not slaughter cattle for food, by judicious management, her cattle need not become a burden on the land and that their slaughter can be made so dear as to enable only those people to slaughter who will do so for luxury or in the name of religion. The aim of *Young India* writings is to show that cattle at the

present moment go to the slaughter-houses because of our criminal negligence and want of proper knowledge. It is further to show that the saving of an enormous number of cattle is more a problem of economics than religion; or rather to show that there is no conflict between religion and economics. Indeed, I have myself gone further and stated that a religion which is in conflict with fundamental economics is bad, and that, in the reverse way, economics that are in conflict with fundamental religion are also equally bad.

From the Western countries we can learn a great deal about cattle economics apart from their slaughter for food. If the nation, or say Hindus, would forego profits from cattle-keeping, the self-denial would be enough to keep cattle during the natural term of their lives even after they cease to give us a return in the shape of milk or labour. The following passages[1] from the introduction to Henry and Morrisson's treatise on *Feeds and Feeding* show how they regard cattle wealth in America.

Young India, 17-6-1926

16. HAWKING KHADI

Praiseworthy efforts are being made in all important khadi centres to create a local market for khadi manufactured in those centres. I take the following extracts[2] from a report of hawking activities in Tamil Nad for a period covering 1¼ years ending last March.

The following extracts from the Andhra report give the experiences of hawkers in that province. The report covers a period of ten months.[3]

Young India, 17-6-1926

[1] The extracts, not reproduced here, gave details of many by-products of animal husbandry useful to man.

[2] & [3] The report, not reproduced here, furnished details of khadi sales by hawkers in urban and rural areas and stressed the need for better propaganda in villages.

17. LETTER TO PARASRAM MEHROTRA

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
June 18, 1926

CHI. PARASRAM,

I would now like to know when you can come. Wire me the final date. I want to utilize you for *Hindi Navajivan* and work should be done with expedition.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI PARASRAMJI
THE "MALAVA MAYUR" OFFICE
AJMER

From a copy of the Hindi: G.W. 6100. Courtesy: Parasram Mehrotra

18. LETTER TO KISHENSINGH CHAVDA

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Sud 8, 1982 [June 18, 1926]

BHAISHRI KISHENSINGH[1],

It is good that you wrote to me. The letter was left in the diary and, as soon as you left, I got busy with other matters. I could never get away from them and remember it. Please pardon me.

I enclose a few scribbled sheets[2].

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19400

[1] Gujarati writer and social worker
[2] These are not available.

19. LETTER TO FULSINGH

SABARMATI,
Jeth Sud 8, 1982 [June 18, 1926][1]

BHAISHRI FULSINGHJI,

I have your letter, and I congratulate as well as thank you. I find your criticism entirely valid. The thing is that enough money is not spent on the job of correcting spellings at the Navajivan Prakashan Mandir. In our efforts to bring out cheap publications, such mistakes as you point out have crept in. I do not write this in self-defence but to stress the faults, because I feel that books published by the Navajivan Prakashan Mandir should be flawless. I shall discuss this in detail with Swami. Please send a list of all the mistakes you have noted down.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

BHAISHRI FULSINGHJI
C/O CHAROTAR KELAVANI MANDAL
ANAND

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 288

20. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Friday, Jeth Sud 8 [June 18, 1926][2]

CHI. DEVDAS,

It would appear that you have taken a vow not to write. In Bombay the rule was well observed, but from Mussoorie one letter has been received for the whole Ashram. Eschew laziness. If Jamnadasji cannot come here on the 26th,[3] he should not worry. His health is also somewhat indifferent. It is therefore imperative that he should get perfectly fit. Aren't Lalji's [wounds] completely healed yet?

Mathuradas has now got used to Panchgani.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19622

[1] The postmark reads: "20-6-26, Ahmedabad".

[2] The reference to the addressee and Lalji convalescing at Mussoorie suggests that the letter was written in 1926.

[3] For a meeting of the All-India Spinners' Association

21. MESSAGE TO NELLORE ADI-ANDHRA CONFERENCE[1]

[Before *June 19, 1926*]

This is my message for the conference. I wish the conference every success. The fact of its being held on the Pallipad Satyagraha Ashram grounds is a tribute to the memory of the late D. Hanumantha Row who devoted his life selflessly to the national cause.

I hope that the various conferences being held there will emphasize the necessity of hand-spinning and khaddar and that the black paint of untouchability that I discovered when I was in that district will be removed as a result of the efforts of the conference.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

The Hindu, 21-6-1926

22. LETTER TO BIRENDRANATH SEN GUPTA

The Ashram,
Sabarmati,
June 19, 1926

Dear Friend,

I have your letter. In my opinion, attainment of divine knowledge is impossible so long as there is any lustfulness in man. A partner who is absolutely sure of his ground is not obliged to yield to another. I hold mutual consent to be absolutely necessary. I do recommend complete abstention for national workers. But I know that this is a counsel of perfection and each one must decide for himself and according to his ability.

Where one is doing one's best even in the midst of chaos and confusion, there is no cause for disappointment. If boys want technical training, they should have either carpentry or smithy, not an elaborate workshop fashioned after the European style but they should work under an ordinary carpenter or smith

[1] This was sent to the secretary of the Pallipad Satyagraha Ashram where the conference was held on June 19, 1926, under the presidentship of Harala Devendrudu, M.L.C., D. K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu read out the message.

and when they have mastered their art, they will take up to European developments and assimilate what is necessary. This becomes cheap and effective.

I think that you should confine yourself to the work immediately before us. Mass education will come naturally out of any honest and concentrated activity.

There is no trouble in the Gujarat Vidyapith except that some professors who are really no non-co-operators even so far as educational work is concerned had to resign.

I am sorry to hear about what you say of Babu Ramdas Gour. By every kindly act we should all discourage him from his explorations.

Yours sincerely,

BABU BIRENDRANATH SEN GUPTA
THE BIHAR VIDYAPITH
P.O. DIGHAGHAT
PATNA

From a microfilm: S.N. 10943

23. *LETTER TO A. S. DAVID*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] I understand what you mean. But I must confess that I still less like your latest letter. But I don't propose to argue. I repeat my advice that it will be better for you to come here and see things for yourself before you take any further step whatsoever.

Yours sincerely,

A. S. DAVID, ESQ.
71, DILKUSHA
LUCKNOW

From a photostat: S.N. 10944

[1] David had written to Gandhiji, on June 10, in regard to his interest in bread-labour and his desire to join the Ashram. He had expressed his intention to dissociate from Missionary activity and sought Gandhiji's help and guidance. (S.N. 10917) *Vide* also Vol. XXX, pp. 532-3.

24. LETTER TO S. RAMANATHAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1926

MY DEAR RAMANATHAN,

I have seen the letter Maganlalji has written to you. I am receiving bitter complaints about deterioration of the quality of Tamil Nad khadi. This deterioration must be stopped at any cost and I think that a public statement is necessary to admit and explain the existing deterioration if you accept the verdict pronounced by so many people. I translate for your benefit a paragraph from Jerajani's[1] letter to me whom I referred the complaint for my guidance. He says:

> The goodness that one noticed in Tirupur khadi before is certainly not to be found now. But during the current year there is a little improvement. The khadi organization in Tirupur has endeavoured to remedy the glaring defects this year. But there is room for more improvements. They have standardized ten strands to a quarter of an inch for the warp. But they have not set a standard for the woof. And, therefore, the weavers put as many or as few strands in the woof as they like. The tendency, therefore, is for the khadi to be loose and weak.

Please investigate and let me know accurately if you admit deterioration. If so, how far has it gone, what steps can be taken to remedy the evil and how did the deterioration set in and who is responsible for it?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. RAMANATHAN
SECRETARY
ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION
(TAMIL NAD BRANCH)
ERODE

From a microfilm: S.N. 11191

[1] Vithal Jerajani, a prominent constructive worker, connected with the All-India Spinners' Association

25. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1926

I send you herewith a copy of my letter to Ramanathan.[1] You will do, I know, whatever is possible.

I expect you here at the end of the month.

Yours sincerely,

ENCL. 1

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
GANDHIASHRAM
PUDUPPALAYAM
TIRUCHENGODU

From a microfilm: S.N. 11190

26. LETTER TO D. N. BAHADURJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Nurgisben sent me your yarn for examination. It was not bad at all. The strength was nearly 50 and evenness over 40. This is an extremely good record for a beginner and for one who has not sat at the wheel for hours at a time. What I would like you to aim at is 70 marks for strength and over 45 for evenness. The highest yet obtained is 79 and 40, respectively.

I hope Mrs. Bahadurji is keeping all right. She owes me a letter.

Yours sincerely,

D. N. BAHADURJI, ESQ.
RIDGE ROAD
MALABAR HILL P.O.
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 10623

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

27. LETTER TO SANTISUDHA GHOSH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Surely it is not too late for a girl of 19 to change her mode of life and to obtain self-control. As a matter of fact, it is never too late to do either of these two things. The only thing needful is perfect faith in God and waiting upon Him to make the necessary change.

I do believe that mind has much to do with the body. If you have got any constitutional diseases, you should medically treat them, and if you are merely weak in body because of the weakness of mind, faith in God and His power to make us better should restore you.

Yours sincerely,

SRIMATI SANTISUDHA GHOSH
C/o MR. K. N. GHOSH, M.A.
ALIKONDA (BARISAL)

From a photostat: S.N. 19624

28. LETTER TO GANGABEHN MAJMUDAR

June 19, 1926

POOJYA GANGABEHN,

I have your letter. Your allegations are such as do not deserve to be answered, so also your language. But since you agree to the appointment of an arbitrator, we must appoint one. But I can see that making the *panchanama*[1] is itself going to be a problem. However if you get a *panchanama* made, send it to me so that I shall be able to think over it. But I feel you must consult a lawyer about all this.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10942

[1] A written statement announcing the appointment of an arbitrator or arbitrators and terms of reference

29. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Jyaistha Shukla 9 [June 19, 1926][1]

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

Of course you know about the loss incurred by the Servants of India Society. In this connection Srinivasa Sastri has asked me also to go round with a begging bowl. He has a right to ask me. I have already written in *Young India*, but Sastriji desires that I should write to my friends also. Although I do not approve of the political activities of the Society, I cannot forget the honesty, patriotism and sacrifice of its members and therefore I look upon it as a duty of every patriot to support and sustain it. If you hold the same opinion, do send some donation and, if possible, ask your other friends also to give something.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6129. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

30. MISCELLANEOUS

COMMUNITY DINNER AFTER A DEATH

A gentleman writes as follows, expressing his feelings about my describing the custom of giving a community dinner after a death as uncivilized:[2]

I have stated so often that all that is written in Sanskrit should not be regarded as holy scriptures. Nor should everything which we find written in the *Manusmriti* and other authoritative works be accepted as coming from the pen of the original authors of the works, or, even if that is so, as having literal authority at the present day. I do nothing of the sort. Certain prin-

[1] In 1926 two presses of the Servants of India Society were destroyed by the fire. The reference to the loss indicates that the letter was written in that year; *vide* "Servants of India Society's Relief Fund", 24-6-1926.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked Gandhiji how, calling himself a *sanatani* Hindu, he could denounce the practice of community dinners after a death, which was enjoined by the Shastras.

ciples are *sanatana*[1], and people who believe in them are *sanatanis*; but we need not believe that the practices which were enjoined in certain ages on the basis of those principles are valid in other ages too. Customs and practices change with place, time and circumstances. The practice of giving a community dinner after someone's death may have had some meaning in old days, but in modern times our reason cannot accept it. Faith has no place in a sphere in which we can exercise our reason. Faith has meaning only in relation to what is above reason. In this case, our reason tells us that giving a community dinner after a death is not a part of dharma. Our experience of the world also tells us that no other religion enjoins or sanctions such a practice. We should, therefore, have much stronger reason than the authority of Sanskrit verses to accept such dinners as enjoined in Hinduism. They are not at all consistent with the principles taught by the holy books of Hinduism or, for that matter, by the holy books of any other religion. We can see with our own eyes the harm they do. Against this evidence of direct observation, what weight can we attach to Sanskrit verses? Neither our reason nor our heart nor our knowledge of other countries of the world justifies the practice of giving community dinners after a death. I have no better reason than this, and no one need be expected to have, for believing that such dinners are uncivilized. As those who believe that everything old is bad are wrong, so also are those who believe that it is good. Whether old or new, everything should be tested on the anvil of reason, and anything which does not stand the test should be rejected.

Liquor Shops and Parsis

A Parsi gentleman writes to say:[2]

This correspondent has provided me a double opportunity, for though I write very little these days against the evil of drink my conviction has not become less strong. I have now an opportunity of showing this, and I can also, at the same time, remove a misunderstanding. Let us deal with the second point first. I have never said that only Parsis should stop running liquor-booths. My view is that all communities should forgo the financial benefit which the liquor trade may bring. There are

[1] Eternal

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had requested Gandhiji to state his view about the general impression among Parsis that, whereas he pleaded with them to stop running liquor-booths, he made no such appeal to Hindus, some of whom took over booths given up by Parsis.

many other means of honest livelihood, against which no one can raise any objection. I cannot but feel sorry when I see anyone leaving these and taking up liquor trade. If I had power in my hands, not a single liquor shop would remain in the country. There is no such thing as the right of drinking and, therefore, there would be no question of depriving people of a legitimate right. Selling liquor should be as much a crime as stealing. If I have addressed my appeal to Parsis, that is because they are more enlightened than others and I expect more from them. I cannot, however, approve of anyone, whether he is a high-caste Hindu or a low-caste Hindu or belongs to some other community, carrying on liquor trade. Let us take up the first question. I still hold, in their entirety, the views about the evil of drinking which I expressed in 1920-21. The more I think and observe, the more terrible the harm done by the evil of drinking appears to me. Some crimes are wholly the result of drinking. I am, therefore, impatient to take every possible legitimate measure to abolish this evil. But our helplessness is so great that we cannot quickly carry out even such a beneficial programme as prohibition. If I could teach people to adhere to non-violence, I would once again start the movement of picketing liquor shops. But it seems today that we worship only the power of the sword. In such circumstances, I do not have the courage to advocate any strong measure.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 20-6-1926

31. KHADI IN SURAT

Tours for the sale of khadi, wherever they were undertaken, seem to have been successful. Shri Bharucha writes to say:[1]

I am quite sure that such tours would succeed in other places as this one has done in Surat. All that is required is hard work and tact.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 20-6-1926

[1] The extract is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that during a tour of three-and-a-half days he had sold khadi worth Rs. 2,000.

32. THE WHEEL OF "YAJNA" IN NEPAL

If the spinning-wheel is a means of *yajna* in this age and this country, and if *yajna* (sacrifice) has a place among all people and all religions, there is no harm in describing it as the wheel of *yajna*. This name occurred to me without any effort on my part when I read the following letter. Its author[1], who comes from Nepal, is an inmate of the Ashram. He had to go through much suffering to be able to join the Ashram. He decided to master the science of the spinning-wheel and popularize it among the poor in Nepal. It is now three months since he returned to Nepal, and he has written a letter in Hindi giving an account of his work there during this period. The following is a translation of it:[2]

This is an example of work worth emulating by every lover of the spinning-wheel. This khadi-worker has the capacity for self-sacrifice, determination, knowledge of the science of spinning, discrimination and humility. Anyone who has these virtues will come by other wealth easily enough.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-6-1926

33. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 20, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

I have your letter at last after having waited for it for a long time. The decision not to go to Finland has certainly given me immense relief and satisfaction.[3] The temptation to go was strong but I felt that the invitation was not of the character that would move me from India. If I had gone at all, I would have gone

[1] Tulsi Maher

[2] The letter is not translated here.

[3] On April 6, 1926, K. T. Paul had conveyed to Gandhiji an invitation to attend the World Conference of Young Men's Christian Association at Helsingfors, Finland, in August 1926. After considerable correspondence, Gandhiji ultimately declined. *Vide* Vol. XXX, p. 542.

not to deliver any political message but to come in contact with the student world and talk to them about the purity of personal life. It was that aspect of it which first tempted me. But when I discovered that the invitation was prompted and not spontaneous I felt that there was no call. I entirely endorse Guruji's opinion that if one has no influence in one's own surroundings, one cannot gain it by going out of them but by success without, gain influence within.

For personal reasons I am certainly sorry that you are not returning to me for the time being. But I approve your decision to remain there to serve Guruji and to be at your mother's call whenever she requires your presence. You will send for more money without hesitation whenever you require it.

I am keeping good health. Devdas is taking his convalescence with Lalji in Mussoorie. Jamnalalji and Laxmidasbhai are also there. Jamnalalji probably returns here on the 26th. I had seen the *Indian Review* verse. Are you now much stronger than you were? I suppose you know that Tulsi Maher is doing extremely well in Nepal. Pyarelal is still with Mathuradas who has gone to Panchgani on Doctor Mehta's advice.

Yours,

SJT. KRISHNADAS
C/o S. C. GUHA, ESQ.
DARBHANGA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19625

34. LETTER TO TULSIDAS

THE ASHRAM,
Monday, June 21, 1926

BHAISHRI TULSIDAS,

Girdhari writes that he, too, has now been discharged [from the hospital]. So I feel like writing something to you. Shall I thank you? I know that none of us deserved the affection you have shown to my friends. How can I repay such affection? It would be some sort of compensation if these youths and myself devote our whole life to the service of the country. May God bless you.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SIR HARKISHANDAS HOSPITAL

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19918

35. LETTER TO DR. DALAL

THE ASHRAM,
Monday, June 21, 1926

BHAISHRI,

Girdhari writes today that he has been discharged [from the hospital]. May I then write a word of thanks? I know writing minimizes the value. You and I are both busy. Your time should not be wasted. These youths and I can perhaps repay your services to some extent by devoting ourselves to the service of the country. Devdas has said a lot about your simplicity and I am very happy to hear it all.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

DR. DALAL
CHOWPATTY
BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19919

96. LETTER TO PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

DEAR DR. PATTABHI,

You know that all my sympathies are with you in your great sorrow.[1] I never knew anything about Sudakshina's death. Though I cannot recall her features, I well remember her having parted with her bangles with the greatest cheerfulness. Do please come and pass some time with us in the Ashram whenever you can.

Now about Keshu. I did not write on behalf of Maganlal.[2] As Keshu is just now acting as one of the nurses for me, he takes me in his confidence. I do not know that Maganlal even now knows that I am in correspondence with you about him. Not that he need not know it, but we all remain so busy that, when we do talk, we talk only about things necessary. And as I have nothing to consult him about in the matter of Keshu's education, I have not discussed with him the plans I am maturing. However, he does know that Keshu wants to increase his knowledge of mechanical engineering. Is there a technical institute in the Mysore State? And, if there is, do you know anything about it? And do you claim yours to be the best in India? Please complete the information by telling me whether you have any such thing as terms during the year or are you open all the year round to receive pupils whenever they come?

Yours sincerely,

DR. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA
MASULIPATAM

From a photostat: S.N. 10949

[1] While replying to a postcard from Gandhiji, Sitaramayya had written of the death of his eight-year-old daughter and recalled how, when only three years old, she had given away her bangles for Gandhiji's work (S.N. 10935).

[2] Sitaramayya had mistaken Gandhiji's query regarding technical education as being intended for Maganlal Gandhi, and had praised the latter's "incipient genius" which would benefit by workshop experience. *Vide* "Letter to Satish Chandra Das Gupta", 22-6-1926.

97. LETTER TO N. S. VARADACHARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

MY DEAR VARADACHARI,

Your letter has much relieved me. I know that your resolution will remove all your difficulties. The question of increment is a mere detail. You will not be alarmed at the manner in which I have discussed the problem arising from letters like yours. There has been a crop of such letters recently from several parts of India. I thought, therefore, that I would gently discuss the problem in the pages of *Young India*.

I have seen C.R.'s[1] letter to you. I saw it only yesterday, Shankerlal being in Bombay. The thought never grasped my mind that Ramanathan's case and the increase given to him had anything to do with you. On the contrary, Shankerlal told me that your pecuniary difficulty arose, or at least came to his notice, earlier than Ramanathan's. And in any case, I have too great regard for you even to suspect that you would want to take an improper advantage of any situation.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. S. VARADACHARI

From a microfilm: S.N. 11194

98. A LETTER[2]

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Why do you say that I am seemingly or otherwise indifferent towards you or your cause? I have mentioned to you my difficulty. I cannot make any dispositions without the assistance of ordinary channels created by the Charkha Sangh. If I make

[1] C. Rajagopalachari
[2] Addressee not known

personal dispositions of the Charkha Sangh funds, the whole organization will break down. I am, therefore, pleading with you not to distrust Satis Babu, but do as he wishes you to do and you will find that, in the end, you will get all the facilities you need. Why do you distrust Satis Babu? The two letters you have sent me are plain enough. But if you cannot hit it off with him, join the Abhoy Ashram. If we are to make khadi a great success that it should become in the near future, we must learn to work in co-operation, subordinate our own views, inclinations and our pride. Differences of principle are few and far between. In your own case, after all there is no principle at stake. You may consider your way of khadi work to be superior to that suggested by another. Surely that is no cause for heart-burning or even dispute, except by your. . . .

From a copy: S.N. 11105 R

39. *LETTER TO MOHAMMAD SHAFEE*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

DEAR SHAFEE SAHIB,

I was delighted to receive your long, interesting and hopeful letter.[1] I have been following your doings in Bihar. It is a move in the right direction. Some of the statements you make in your letter are painful reading. I should be deeply hurt to find that Hindus had the designs upon the Mussalmans that you describe in your letter.[2]

I take it I have your permission to discuss your letter with Rajendrababu.

[1] In this Mohammad Shafee, who recalled having met Gandhiji at Ahmedabad on May 5 and 6, spoke of his endeavours "to bring about some understanding between the Hindu and Muslim workers of my Province" and of a conference of Hindu-Muslim unity workers held at Chapra on June 8, 9 and 10. A joint Hindu-Muslim deputation had toured the Province "to carry the message of peace to the masses". Shafee had stressed in his letter that it was time "to pursue the work of reconciliation with greater vigour, in a larger area and with bigger personalities" (S.N. 11073).

[2] Shafee had alleged that some Congress workers considered that in Bihar the Hindus, by virtue of their superior numbers, could retaliate against the Muslims for wrongs done to the Hindus in other Provinces.

For myself, you will find me coming out of my shell the moment I see that God wanted me to do so. For the present my action lies in seeming inaction.

Yours sincerely,

MOHAMMAD SHAFEE, ESQ.
OF MUZAFFARPUR
BIHAR SHARIF

From a photostat: S.N. 11073

40. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

There are two things in which I want your help outside the khadi work. Keshu, as you are aware, is a born mechanic. He wants to make further progress. That he thinks he can only do by being in some mechanical engineering institution or shop. I would like to satisfy his ambition. But I do not know where he could be put. I have sent for the syllabus from the Andhra National Institute at Masulipatam,[1] which I have got. But I know that you can give me the best advice in this matter. That is one thing.

The second is the soap question. As the colony here is growing in extent, the expense of soap increases. A cake of soap for the body costs 4 to 6 annas. Washing soap a cake two annas. Is there not a cheaper way of cleaning our bodies and our clothes if one wants to use something more than water? If you give me a simple recipe, I shall certainly make the soap at the Ashram if that proves cheaper. Having manufactured so much soap, you can perhaps tell me what to do. I want a prescription something after Dr. Ray's style. You may remember what he said about tooth powders. He said: "the Bengal Chemical Works tooth powder was for fools, but chalk or powdered coal was the best powder for wise men like himself." Is there any such simple soap prescription for wise men?

I observe Hemaprabhadevi has ordered 12 copies of *Ashram Bhajanavali*. The last edition is almost all exhausted and I have

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Pattabhi Sitaramayya", 22-6-1926.

discovered many typographical errors in it. It is the most popular publication of the Navajivan Printing Press. The edition is now being carefully revised by a committee and I hope that in a short time a faultless edition will be published when she can have as many copies as she likes.

I do not mind your not coming if you are wanted for your work there. I shan't strive with you about your personal finance. I am satisfied so long as both of you keep perfect health and perfect temper.

Yours,

SJT. SATIS CH. DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
170, BOW BAZAAR ST.
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 19630

41. LETTER TO MRS. PERIN CAPTAIN[1]

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

You do remember Miss Haussding. Don't you? You will meet her on Friday. I had expected a letter last week. But none came. Her main letters have, however, begun to arrive. She is therefore likely to come by the boat (*Razmak*) mentioned by her. And if she has arrived, please telegraph to me so that I can send someone to meet her at Ahmedabad station.

Yours,

MRS. PERIN CAPTAIN
ISLAM CLUB BUILDINGS
CHAUPATI
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19631

[1] Grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji

42. LETTER TO K. T. MATHEW

THE ASHRA
SABARMA
June 22, 19

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I think that even if you alone resi and seek re-election, it would be some education for the peopl Satyagraha on your part would certainly be out of place.

Whilst generally speaking practice of law is not an ennoblin task, it is not difficult to retain one's principles and earn a livel hood from the practice of that profession. I think it will l difficult to find support such as you require from any public i stitution, and it will be a pity not to utilize the legal ability yo have acquired in maintaining yourself. I have no doubt that Cochin itself there is great scope for men like you for doi public service.

Yours sincere

K. T. MATHEW, ESQ.
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
KUNNAMKULAM
COCHIN STATE

From a microfilm: S.N. 11226

43. LETTER TO V. V. DASTANE

THE ASHRA
SABARMAT
June 22, 192

MY DEAR DASTANE,

I have your letter. The meeting of the Council is on th 26th, not 22nd. It is not the first meeting of the Council. Severa meetings have taken place.

Is your reminding about 2,000 yards a wish for alteration in th rule? If it is, I am afraid we must not touch the rules as ye though I hold the same opinion as you that it would be bette if we have 2,000 and regular half hour per day. I am afrai

many members are in arrears. Unsteadiness is the bane of our life.

Though I have not answered your query about the loan of Rs. 500, it is not as if I have not enquired about it. I understand from Shankerlal that Jamnalalji would not like to divert the use of the fund. You should write to him. He is likely to be here on the 26th instant.

Yours,

SJT. V. V. DASTANE
JALGAON

From a microfilm: S.N. 11192

44. LETTER TO TIRATHRAM TANEJA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I suppose not much skill is required for the use of foreign dyes. Is it not a fact that one cause of their popularity and superiority is the facility with which foreign dyes can be handled? Those, therefore, who want to use foreign dyes are using them. But a body like the All-India Spinners' Association can make researches only in indigenous dyes. The utmost it can do is not to boycott foreign dyes.

I agree with you that for hand-spinning to become more widespread, the quality of yarn should be improved both in strength and evenness. About the comparative merits of hand-weaving, I am afraid hand-weaving will not work among millions, if only because it is not available for millions. And it is too complicated for millions to learn. Hand-spinning is the only thing that everybody can do. Therefore, our concentration must be on that and that alone.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. TIRATHRAM

From a copy: S.N. 11193

45. LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am glad you are going back to Arambagh. You must develop the power of resisting malaria. I know nothing about the resignation of Tarini Babu. I shall enquire. But supposing that he accepts the inspectorship and you do something else, who will do the actual work in Arambagh? It seems to me to be a wrong method of going about the work, if it is a matter of finding maintenance, otherwise why not belong to the Khadi Pratishthan and work Arambagh under Khadi Pratishthan? And if you do not care for Khadi Pratishthan, why not belong to the Abhoy Ashram? And if you are to take a course of medicine, the question again arises who will work Arambagh? My impression is that you should be where your work is or else you will make no headway. It may be however that I have not yet grasped the meaning of what you have described in your letter. You will then explain.

I hope Profulla has now got rid of his eye trouble. I have not a shadow of doubt that the time is coming when the country will learn that there is no work but the work of construction. It opens up such illimitable scope for solid work. What does it matter whether along those lines we get swaraj today or tomorrow? I know that it is the shortest cut.

I must not be tempted to move out of Sabarmati during this year. God will open a way for me next year.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN
23, NANDARAM SEN STREET
POST HATKHOLA
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 11196

46. LETTER TO CHAMPABEHN MEHTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday[1], *Jeth Sud 11, June 22, 1926*

CHI. CHAMPA[2],

I have your letter. Much time has passed since I have had news of the children's health. Bhai Manilal is in Ahmedabad. He spoke of having got your letter. I write this letter to express the hope I have in you. I hear that Chi. Ratilal is extravagant with his money. Now he has asked for money from me. I have written to him saying that I can give him nothing without Doctor's permission. I don't know whether you get a chance to read the letters I write to him. I take it that you do. What I expect you to do is not to let Ratilal spend money unnecessarily. Keep a proper account or make him do it. I expect you to gain a hold over Ratilal by your self-control and strength of character so that he might mend. This work, I think, is not beyond the capacity of a virtuous woman. No one can deal with the mental infirmity of Ratilal but you, if you wish, can certainly do that. You have given me that hope.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19626

47. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, June 22, 1926

CHI. MATHURADAS,

Received your letter. It is good that you have taken a bungalow. There was another letter from Sir Prabhashanker Pattani saying that we should not hesitate to keep his bungalow. But I feel that we should not keep it too long. It is good that you intend to go to Matheran. But if you notice strikingly good results in Panchgani, I think, you should not move from there. One prefers Panchgani because of its altitude. In Matheran you

[1] The source has Tuesday; however, in 1926 *Jeth Sud* 11 fell on Monday.
[2] Daughter-in-law of Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta

can get cool air but you cannot have the height—that is its defect. But why talk now about what would arise after September? In Bombay you won't need the help of anyone—would you? After going to Panchgani if you need Mahadev, write to me. Panchgani is a big town. Facilities for shopping, etc., are as good as at Deolali. So Pyarelal would have no difficulties there.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19628

48. LETTER TO DUDABHAI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, June 22, 1926

BHAI DUDABHAI,

I have your letter. Write to Bhai Balwantrai saying that you have not received your salary yet. It is necessary that you keep on writing to him about all the difficulties you have. He too has suggested it. I was very happy at your decision not to leave the school at any cost. I had a talk with Bhai Balwantrai about your salary. Most probably you will have no difficulty now. Write to me promptly when Lakshmi's clothes are torn and, if the new ones are to be stitched here, send me her measurements also.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19629

49. LETTER TO VISHNU KARANDIKAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter with enclosures. The letters are of no use to me, for, as you know, *Young India* is not a newspaper. It is, as a friend has aptly said, a viewspaper. I could not, therefore, take in your notes unless I alter the whole scope of the paper which I must not do.

I am asking the manager of the Satyagraha Ashram to send you some Ashram photographs if there are any available. You need not worry about paying for them. All the recent photographs of mine that you may have seen are snapshots taken un-

awares, for, for the last ten years, I have not given a sitting to any photographer.

I shall see to it that you get a complimentary copy of *Young India* regularly. My articles are always written on almost the last day possible for going to print and the date of publication is so arranged as to catch the European mail of the same week. Therefore it is not possible to send you an advance copy of my articles.

VISHNU KARANDIKAR
61, FLEET STREET
LONDON E.C. 4

From a photostat: S.N. 10779

50. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 29, 1926

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your letter. Now you know everything about the much talked of visit to Finland. I felt that the time had not yet arrived for going. I could see no clear definite light. Undoubtedly, had I gone to Finland, I would have gone to Denmark also. I had made that definite promise to Anne Marie and I would have loved to have seen your own home. But that was not to be.

Mirabai is doing quite well and she is standing the heat wonderfully well. I am glad you have a helper. You have not yet told me what sort and what quantity of old khaddar is to be sent to you. But Maganlal has made a parcel. It is being despatched today to the address given by you at 'Craiglea'. I suppose 'Craiglea' is the name of the cottage in Kodaikanal. It is quite like Menon that he should be devoting himself to the care of the sick. You refer to Rs. 10/-. Nothing has been received here as yet. Nothing need be sent.

Yours,
BAPU

MRS. ESTHER MENON
'CRAIGLEA'
KODAIKANAL

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 81

51. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 23, 1926

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

It was sweet of you to have sent me those Tamil hymns so as to reach me on my silence day and the date; it was quite easy reading for me and your translation was a great help. It is like paraphrase of verses from the *Bhagavad Gita* or from the Bible.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3192

52. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Sud 13, 1982, June 23, 1926

BHAISHRI NAJUKLAL,

I have your letter. I do hope you realize that my last letter to you and Moti[1] remains unanswered. *Ashram Samachar* was not published last week owing to Maganlal's illness. Most probably it will come out this week. I get news from Bhai Lakshmidas almost daily. Only today there has been no letter from him. He is keeping good health. He does not get fever there. He also does a lot of walking. Anandi had fever for two days. Now she is all right. Tell Moti to shed laziness and write a letter.

Everyone is awaiting the rains now.

Blessings from
BAPU

BHAISHRI NAJUKLAL
SEVASHRAM
BROACH

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12129

[1] Wife of the addressee and daughter of Laxmidas Asar

53. LETTER TO JAGJIVAN

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Sud 13, 1982, June 23, 1926

BHAI JAGJIVAN,

Your letter. You should not leave your present school in a hurry. Moreover, I will have to ask Amritlal Sheth before taking you elsewhere. My advice to you is, tell him about all your difficulties and stay where you are.

C/o ANTYAJA SHALA
RANPUR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10693

54. LETTER TO SHAMBHUSHANKER

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Sud 13, 1982, June 23, 1926

BHAISHRI SHAMBHUSHANKER[1],

I had your letter. I accept and applaud your decision about salary. You will draw Rs. 50 p.m. up to the month of July, so the change will take effect from August onwards. I have not yet received Bhai Jagjivandas's letter. You have not sent me the copy of the agreement which has been sent to you for your signature; but from what you write I can see no objection to including the immovable property if you wish to bind yourself. As I see it, the responsibility for paying the damages will arise only for losses caused by your carelessness; not for other losses. I also agree with you that there should be a worker to help you. We should think over the conditions on which such a man should be engaged. Let us hope that by the grace of God it would rain. Think about and write to me of all the jobs that are usually done during the rainy season and others that could be done. It is better if you have a talk about khadi with Maneklal and Chhaganlal. How much of such khadi could they have with them? We have to think about it if it is much. The khadi that Bhai Vajeshanker sells, in whose name does he get it made?

[1] A khadi worker of Gariyadhar in Saurashtra

How much khadi has he got woven? Isn't he in Hanod on behalf of the State? There is only one principle underlying the khadi activity. In India crores of people do not have any occupation except agriculture. Sufficient livelihood for the crores cannot be obtained from agriculture alone. Similarly, agriculture can't take up their whole time. They must have some other occupation and that is hand-spinning. So we are propagating it everywhere. Khadi produced from hand-spun yarn is thus a means of propagating spinning. We endure the various fraudulent practices of [some] spinners, ginners and weavers, etc., but when we come to a stage when we can't bear such practices, we stop taking work from them. The way you have suggested is the only way to make them guileless. That is, we should ourselves become guileless, pure, selfless and hardworking.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19634

55. *LETTER TO NANABHAI BHATT*

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Sud 13, 1982, June 23, 1926

BHAISHRI NANABHAI,

I send herewith Bhai Gokulbhai's letter. I understand nothing in it. When Vallabhbhai comes, I will talk about it. Let me know what is your opinion. Can we, even if we want to, give our permission without a meeting of the committee?

C/o RASHTRIYA SHALA
BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19635

56. *CHARKHA IN OTHER LANDS*

Sjt. C. Balaji Rao of Coimbatore has circulated printed extracts collected with much labour from 'Peoples of All Nations' showing what place the ancient wheel occupies in the homes of other peoples. I reproduce them below slightly abridged:[1]

Only those who are obsessed with prejudice will refuse to see the potency of the wheel in the foregoing extracts, assuming, of

[1] These are not reproduced here. They dealt with the position of the spinning industry in various countries of Africa, Europe, Asia and South America.

course, that the statements made in the original compilation are true. The greatest obsession is the poor wage earned by the spinner. If we would but get out of ourselves for a while and step into the shoes of the famishing millions, we would at once discover that what appears trifling to us is a fortune for them. We would further discover that millions can add only a few pice to their daily income which, as it is, is no more than a few pice. It is at the most Rs. 40 per year, i.e., say 7 pice per day.

Young India, 24-6-1926

57. *SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S RELIEF FUND*

I gladly publish the following appeal to the public made by Sjt. Sastri:

> The Servants of India Society have sustained a terrible loss by the fire which brought to ruin the Arya Bhushan Press and the Dnyan Prakash Press. These had been built up with great patience and foresight by Mr. Gokhale, who knew the mutations of public support and desired to provide for the Society a constant source of income. Deprived of their mainstay, the members of the Society cannot but turn in their distress to their countrymen for that prompt and generous help in money which alone can put them back in their former position and enable them to resume their career of service to the public. I have already appealed to personal friends through private letters, and I wish by this means to reach the wider public who are interested in the Society and its work. Sympathy and help are flowing in from all sides, and our hearts have been gladdened beyond measure by the spontaneous expressions of goodwill received from those who are not in habitual agreement with us on public matters. As I said on another occasion, it seems as though the essential kindliness of human nature, being so often forced out of its natural current by conflict of interests, were only waiting for a pretext to come back to its own channel.
>
> We calculate that two lakhs of rupees would be required to enable us to make a fresh start. The sum is large, and there is depression all round. Still my colleague and I have every confidence that in a few months' time we shall get what we want. Our members will go round to various places, but they are not many and cannot be everywhere. We look to our associates and sympathisers in all parts of the country for active help. We beg them to respond to this appeal as though it had been made to them individually and in person. No amount is so small but it will be welcome; in fact small contributions, if sufficiently nume-

rous, will give us the pleasing reflection that we are known and appreciated by a wide circle of those whom we seek to serve.

The total amount collected at the time of circulation of the appeal amounted to over Rs. 26,000. I hope that the whole of the two lacs required to set the two presses and the papers going will have been subscribed by the time these lines appear in print. The true insurance for public concerns like the Servants of India Society is public goodwill reduced to concrete terms.

Young India, 24-6-1926

58. SACRIFICE

I have before me several letters from young men complaining that they have so many family burdens that the poor salary they get from public work is totally inadequate for their wants. One therefore says he must give up public work and go to Europe by raising a loan or securing a gift and increase his earning capacity; another is in search of a paying job; yet another wants a capital to start a paying business. Everyone of these young men is a sound, honest and self-sacrificing worker. But a reaction has set in. Family requirements have increased. Khadi or national education does not satisfy them. They do not desire to be a burden upon public service by asking for an increase. But the logical outcome of this attitude of mind must mean, if it becomes at all general, either stoppage of the public service which depends upon the labours of such men and women, or a general indefinite increase which in its turn must bring about the same undesirable result.

It was because this process of multiplication of wants out of proportion to our surroundings was discovered to be going on with increasing velocity that non-co-operation was conceived. And thus conceived it was not non-co-operation with persons, but with an attitude that was responsible for the system which had seized us in its serpentine coils and which was reducing us to dust. The system had raised the standard of living among us, its creatures, wholly unwarranted by the general condition of the country. And since India did not live upon exploitation of other peoples, the expansion of the middle class who were also the middle-men meant extinction of the lowest strata. Hence the smallest villages were dying out through sheer exhaustion. This was all plain to many of us in 1920. The arresting movement is yet in its infancy. Let us not hinder it by any hasty action.

This artificial increase in our wants has been felt more severely than it otherwise would have been, because of the persistence of the family system which the Western method is ill-designed to support. The joint system having become wooden, its evils have become accentuated, its sweet graces have disappeared. Thus, evil has been added to evil.

Our self-sacrifice must, therefore, be in terms of the requirements of the country. The reforms required are more from within than from without. A perfect constitution superimposed upon a rotten internal condition will be like a whited sepulchre.

The process of self-purification must therefore be completed. The spirit of self-sacrifice must be extended. Great as the sacrifice has been, it is nothing compared to the demands made upon us by the country. We dare not support able-bodied members of the family—men or women—who will not work. We may not contribute a single pice towards the expenses of conforming to meaningless or superstitious customs, such as caste-dinners, or towards forming expensive marriage connections. Every marriage and every death brings an unnecessary, cruel burden upon the head of the family. We must refuse to regard such acts of self-denial as self-sacrifice. They are evils to be counteracted with courage and resolution.

There is too, for us, the inordinately expensive education. When it is difficult for millions even to make the two ends meet, when millions are dying of starvation, it is monstrous to think of giving our relatives a costly education. Expansion of the mind will come from hard experience, not necessarily in the college or the school-room. When some of us deny ourselves and ours the so-called higher education, we shall find true means of giving and receiving a really high education. Is there not, may there not be, a way of each boy paying for his own education? There may be no such way. Whether there is or there is not such a way is irrelevant. But there is no doubt that when we deny ourselves the way of expensive education seeing that aspiration after higher education is a laudable end, we shall find out a way of fulfilling it more in accord with our surroundings. The golden rule to apply in all such cases is resolutely to refuse to have what millions cannot. This ability to refuse will not descend upon us all of a sudden. The first thing is to cultivate the mental attitude that will not have possessions or facilities denied to millions, and the next immediate thing is to re-arrange our lives as fast as possible in accordance with that mentality.

Without a large, very large, army of such self-sacrificing and determined workers, real progress of the masses, I hold, to be an impossibility. And without that progress, there is no such thing as swaraj. Progress towards swaraj will be in exact proportion to the increase in the number of workers who will dare to sacrifice their all for the cause of the poor.

Young India, 24-6-1926

59. *'MAHATMAJI'S ORDER'*

A teacher writes:

> There is a small group of boys of our school in . . . who have been regularly sending 1,000 yards of self-spun yarn to the A.I.S.A. for some months, and they have been doing this little service merely on account of intense love for you. If anyone asks them the reason for their spinning, they reply: 'It is Mahatmaji's order. It has got to be obeyed.' I think such mentality on the part of little boys is to be encouraged in every way. Slave mentality is something quite different from the spirit of hero-worship or implicit obedience. These boys are now anxious to get some message from you in your own handwriting for their inspiration. I am sure their request will be complied with.

I do not know whether the mentality betrayed by this letter is hero-worship or blind worship. I can conceive occasions when implicit obedience without waiting for reasoning out causes is a necessity. It is essentially the quality of a soldier. And no nation can make substantial progress without the possession of that quality by a vast number of its people. But occasions for such obedience are and must be rare in any well-ordered society. The worst thing that can happen to boys in a school is to have to render blind obedience to everything that the teacher says. On the contrary, if teachers are to stimulate the reasoning faculty of boys and girls under their care, they would continuously tax their reason and make them think for themselves. Faith only begins where reason stops. But there are very few actions in the world for which reasonable justification cannot be found. A teacher would not tolerate from his pupils, who were asked to account for drinking boiled and filtered water in a locality where the quality of well-water was suspected, an answer to the effect that such were the orders of a mahatma. And if it be wrong to admit such an answer, in the supposed case, it is surely wrong to approve of the justification for spinning that the boys of the school in question

have given for their spinning. When I am dislodged from my mahatmaship in that school, as I have certainly been dislodged in several homes to my knowledge (for some of my correspondents have been gracious enough to inform me of their lost love), I am afraid the spinning-wheel will be destroyed. Surely, a cause is often greater than the man. Certainly, the spinning-wheel is greater than myself. I should be exceedingly sorry to find, when the hero-worship of me is destroyed, because of some fatuous mistakes that I may commit or because people are enraged against me for some cause or other, that the good cause of the spinning-wheel had to suffer. It is therefore infinitely better that the pupils should reason out for themselves all the things that are capable of being so treated. The spinning-wheel is essentially a thing for reasoning out. With it, in my opinion, is mixed up the well-being of the whole mass of Indian humanity. Pupils should, therefore, learn something about the deep poverty of the masses. They should have an ocular demonstration of some villages that are crumbling down to pieces. They should know the population of India. They should know the vast extent of this peninsula and they should know what it is that all the many millions can do to add to their scanty resources. They should learn to identify themselves with the poor and the downtrodden in the land. They should be taught to deny themselves, so far as possible, things that the poorest cannot have. Then they will understand the virtue of spinning. It will then survive any shock including disillusionment about myself. The cause of the spinning-wheel is too great and too good to have to rest on mere hero-worship. It lends itself to scientific economic treatment.

I know that there is among us a great deal of blind hero-worship such as this correspondent has described, and I hope that the teachers of national schools will take note of the warning I have uttered and prevent their pupils from lazily basing their actions upon statements, without testing, of men reputed to be great.

Young India, 24-6-1926

60. FOR A.I.S.A. MEMBERS

The managers of Khadi Bhandar, Princess Street, Bombay, and of The A.I. Charkha Sangh Khadi Bhandar, 14, Dadi Sheth, Agyari Lane, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay, inform me that on sending them their certificates of membership, the members of the A.I.S.A. can become members without payment of these Bhandars and get all the concessions allowed to the paying members including all their circulars and a rebate on purchases. They further announce that during the month of July there will be sales in both the stores at reduced rates. The prices will be invariably reduced by 6¼ per cent but on some special goods the reduction will be 25 per cent and in some cases even 50 per cent. The reduced rates will last till the end of the next month.

Young India, 24-6-1926

61. NOTES

Village Organization

Professor Narayandas Malkani's notes on his recent tour in Bardoli Tâluka are both interesting and instructive. The reader will find there a brief account of an experiment in village work that has been going on in that Taluka amongst the backward classes since 1921 when the wave of temperance reform swept through the land. Here in this small tract the introduction of the wheel is bringing about a slow but steady revolution in the life of the simple dwellers. But for the charkha, temperance workers could not have had any footing in these villages. Nor could they have produced any impression whatsoever upon the villagers, if they had not come in touch with the people in many other ways and found a profitable employment for occupying every idle moment of theirs. The workers have been able to divert the minds of villagers from drink and interest them in spinning. Effort is being made to educate the children of these people. The education that is being given them is by no means of the orthodox type. It fits in with their surroundings and is intended to draw out all their faculties, the idea being not to manufacture clerks but to make citizens of the children, well able to take care of themselves and well able to preserve intact their hereditary oc-

cupation, namely, agriculture, spinning, weaving, etc. But the experiment is still in its infancy. The child is father to the man. And even in this infant stage of the experiment everything that has gone on hitherto gives promise of a brilliant future. For, with the introduction of hand-spinning, the trades necessary for sustaining it are also being gradually revived amongst the people. It is not too much to hope that this revolution that is going on amongst the people may enable them to get rid of, what Professor Malkani calls, 'the native bureaucracy' and that not by violent but by strictly non-violent means, means that are calculated to convert not to coerce 'the native bureaucracy'. For, the people simply need to be independent of both the money-lender and the publican, of the first by ceasing to want credit and of the second by ceasing to drink.

A Travesty

'The voluntary repatriation' described by Dr. Malan, the Union Minister[1], is anything but voluntary. It is stimulated, aided or induced. And if the process continues unchecked, it may presently become compulsory. A large number of men repatriated are said to be colonial-born. No colonial-born Indian to whom India is only a geographical expression will voluntarily repatriate himself. Again it is not voluntary repatriation when an agency is set up, probably paid by results, to collect repatriation recruits and when these recruits are detained in compounds pending repatriation. It seems to me that this detention in compounds is likely to be declared illegal if it is tested in a court of law. For detention without a guard would be useless. And placing a guard over free and innocent men would amount to wrongful confinement. I know of no regulation in 1914 that permitted the Government to detain such men in guarded camps. If repatriation is to be voluntary it must be free from the pestering attention of recruiting agents and there should be no detention in depots or camps.

The True Guru

In confirmation of my note on the definition of a guru, a correspondent sends the following interesting information:

> In connection with your definition of a guru, I am reminded of the beautiful lines of the poet-saint Ramadas. He said:
>
> विवेका ऐसा गुरु । विद्या ऐसा शिष्य चतुर ।
> भीमा ऐसा मित्र ब्यार । गुणवन्तीं मिळेना ॥

[1] Of South Africa

'You cannot find a better guru than *viveka* or the power of discriminating truth from untruth, right from wrong or good from evil. There is no better disciple than *chitta* or mind, and no nobler friend than one's *jeeva* or soul.' In fact, Ramadas points out that man need not go outside himself in search of a guru. 'Be guided by your power of discrimination, derived from your implicit faith in God, keep your mind under control of such a power and nobly sacrifice the self.' This in essence is the advice of the Maharashtrian saint.

Young India, 24-6-1926

62. TO READERS OF "HINDI NAVAJIVAN"

It has ever been a matter of sorrow to me that I am not able to write for *Hindi Navajivan* or look after it. After Shri Haribhau Upadhyaya was posted for khadi work, I have received several complaints regarding the language of *Hindi Navajivan*. It is said that the quality of the language has deteriorated, that there are grammatical errors and that the idiom has a foreign ring. It is also said that sometimes the meaning conveyed is just the opposite of what is intended. All this may be true. Although the translators do their work with devotion and industry, it may well be that they, being Gujaratis, make mistakes. I am looking for a person who knows Hindi. I hope, when I find one, the chances of error will be fewer. At the same time, it may be appropriate to point out that, after all, *Hindi Navajivan* carries only translations. Of course, I shall do my best to see that the meaning is not distorted. The truth, however, remains that I have not the ability to bring out *Navajivan* in Hindi. I have neither the time to manage its affairs nor the requisite knowledge of Hindi. I agreed to bring out *Hindi Navajivan* on the insistence of friends and out of a desire that those who know only Hindi should not remain unacquainted with my ideas. This work can be continued if readers will help. They can help in two ways: (1) they can point out the errors, and (2) they can refuse to buy the paper when the errors become too many to put up with. *Navajivan* is not published out of any financial motive. It is brought out solely to advance the general good. If, owing to faults of language or some other reason, it cannot serve the purpose for which it is intended, it will be our duty to close it down.

All the translations carried in this issue are by persons whose mother tongue is Hindi.

Readers will oblige me by pointing out errors in this issue.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 24-6-1926

69. LETTER TO DEVI WEST

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 24, 1926

MY DEAR DEVI[1],

So you are an orphan now. And yet, why an orphan! Father had died full of years and contentment that he lived a life of godliness and was liked by those who knew him. I hope, therefore, that you and other members of the family have not given way to grief. What a beautiful motto on the tomb-stone: To live in hearts we leave behind is not to die.

Yes. Indeed, India is today cut up into two owing to these mad riots. God's ways are inscrutable. I am hoping that the fighters will be soon exhausted. It is simple madness that gives rise to these fights.

We are keeping fairly well. I say fairly well because Radha and Rukhi are just now ill. They have malaria. Devdas has undergone an operation for appendicitis. He is convalescing now. Manilal is still in Phœnix. Ramdas is doing khadi work. Have not seen Bhai Kotwal for many months now.

Did I tell you that I had an English friend living in the Ashram? Her name is Miss Slade. We have given her an Indian name, Mirabai. A German lady is coming probably this week.

Yours,

DEVI
23, GEORGE STREET
LOUTH, LINC.
ENGLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 10630

[1] Sister of Albert West, Gandhiji's associate in South Africa

64. LETTER TO REV. WILLIAM PATON

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I had indeed said that if the way was open for me, I would go to Helsingfors. But I was eventuated [*sic*] that it was not. Had I gone to Finland, I would have visited England also. There were so many invitations from kind friends, yours being the last amongst them.

I am glad to know that the new Viceroy desires to do what is right and that he is moved by religious conviction.

Yes. Indeed Andrews did exceedingly well in South Africa. But for his labours there would have been no Conference.

With regards to you and Mrs. Paton,

Yours sincerely,

REV. WILLIAM PATON, M.A.
1, WORLEY ROAD
ST. ALBANS
(ENGLAND)

From a photostat: S.N. 10775

65. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 24, 1926

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

Absence of any letter from you except the one you wrote from Simla means, I hope, that you are enjoying your stay with Stokes. I hope that the visit has given you rest and peace.

Shankerlal told me that you were grieved over my chafing you about your Christian partiality. But I hope that you have got over the grief and turned the incident to one of joy. Is it not a matter of joy that you should have friends who will not always be serious with you?

I am so glad I had not gone to Finland. I have received several letters of congratulations on my decision not to go. Amongst these was a Punjabi Christian friend who came here and passed a night before going to Helsingfors. He has gone as a delegate.

Happenings in South Africa do not give one much hope of a satisfactory conclusion to the deliberations of the Round Table Conference.[1]

If you receive this in Kotgarh, please give my love to Stokes and Mrs. Stokes and Gregg[2].

Yours,

REV. C. F. ANDREWS
C/o S. E. STOKES, ESQ.
KOTGARH, SIMLA HILLS

From a photostat: S.N. 19640

66. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS P. ASAR

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Sud 14, 1982, June 24, 1926

CHI. LAKSHMIDAS,

I have your letter. I have written to you about Anandi[3]. Dr. Kanuga was called in. He wanted to administer quinine. He had said that he would himself send the medicine. She remains very restless these days; so I have not insisted on getting the medicine from him. Chhaganlal went to his place once, but could not find him. So quinine is being given regularly from here. At the moment the fever has subsided. Quinine will be continued for some time. What you write about a bath is right. I will see that she remains particularly careful about it. There has not been a drop of rain here. Its failure is causing apprehension.

Radha[4], Rukhi[5] and Kusum[6] are down with fever. Kusum has been keeping indifferent health ever since she came from Bombay.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19686

[1] A Round Table Conference on the position of Indians in South Africa was to be held in Cape Town. *Vide* "That Round Table Conference", 22-7-1926.

[2] Richard B. Gregg

[3] Daughter of the addressee

[4] & [5] Daughters of Maganlal Gandhi

[6] Student-inmate of the Ashram

67. LETTER TO PRABHALAKSHMI

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Sud 14, 1982, June 24, 1926

CHI. PRABHALAKSHMI,

Your letter. In accordance with your wishes, I would not use your letter without your permission. If people gossip, how can we muzzle them? We should be amused if we are accused when we are innocent. When we are in the wrong, however harsh others may be towards us, we ought to be more severe with ourselves; then we won't find their harshness unbearable. Since God is all-pervading, without attributes and without form, we should instal Him in our hearts and meditate on Him. All of us—whether great or small, good or bad, intelligent or dull and so on—are what we are by virtue of our past deeds. To enquire who have done worthy deeds and why we have become as noble as we are, and so on, is to lay claim to godlike perfection and, in all this arrogance, the question is never answered. Thus, faith comes when reason fails. Your duty just now is to become tranquil, forget all that has happened and fulfil your function in radiant perfection.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19637

68. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SABARMATI,
Thursday, Jeth Sud 14 [June 24, 1926][1]

CHI. DEVDAS,

Your letter. I saw [your] letter to Mahadev. My rebuke had been issued by then. From my reference to compound interest you would have guessed that I had got your letter on the way. Girdhari has been discharged from the hospital, but his health does not appear very good. He is expected here now. Jamnalalji would also arrive at about the same time. After that I would think things over and, if there is any need, I would send him

[1] The reference to Girdhari's discharge from the hospital suggests that the letter was written in 1926; *vide* "Letter to Tulsidas", 21-6-1926.

there. I wrote letters to Dr. Dalal and Bhai Tulsidas soon after Girdhari's discharge. I wrote to them that it was only by dedicating ourselves to the country's service that we could discharge to some extent the debt we owe them. Dr. Dalal has replied. Herewith I send you his letter.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19698

69. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday [June 25, 1926][1]

CHI. DEVDAS,

Along with this I send you Bhai Tulsidas's letter. Velabehn[2] is indisposed since last night. Her old ailment has recurred while she was in Bombay. Tell Bhai Laxmidas that there is nothing to worry about. Rajendrababu has arrived and would stay here up to the 29th or 30th. He has come here for a meeting of the Charkha Sangh. It will meet tomorrow. The German lady[3] is expected here tomorrow. There is a letter from Kishorelal saying that Girdhari would arrive here tomorrow. He cannot be said to have completely recovered.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19641

70. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Saturday, Jeth Vad 1, 1982, June 26, 1926

CHI. MOTI,

At last, after many days and that too on reminding you, I do have a letter from you. Will this laziness ever go? Anandi had fever and it has now subsided. Velabehn also had fever for the last few days. She is better today. Radha and Kusum are still in bed.

[1] The reference in the letter to a meeting of the Charkha Sangh, All-India Spinners' Association, which was held on June 26, 1926 suggests this date.

[2] Wife of Laxmidas Asar

[3] Miss Hausding

Have you maintained the habit of reading or have you now given it up owing to laziness? Can I ask about the spinning?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12133

71. LETTER TO GOKALDAS H. THAKKAR

THE ASHRAM,
June 26, 1926

BHAISHRI GOKALDAS,

Your letter. I have nothing to write on except the charkha and allied subjects. I have never seen your paper. And I do not like to write for a paper I know nothing about. Please therefore excuse me.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI GOKALDAS HIRAJI THAKKAR
SECRETARY, "SEVAK MANDAL"
SEVAK MANDAL KARYALAYA
OPPOSITE POST OFFICE
JAMNAGAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19921

72. POSSESSED BY GHOST OF SUSPICION

"A Passenger" has written the following letter without giving his name.[1]

Such letters do not deserve any notice. One does not know, however, how many workers may be victims of such suspicions. The issues raised in the letter are worthy of attention. I made inquiries immediately on receiving the letter, and discovered that the facts of the case are quite different from what they are represented to be by "A Passenger". The person against whom these allegations are made is engaged in work which he simply could not have carried on if he travelled without paying proper fare as he is

[1] The letter is not translated here. It stated that a leading worker in Saurashtra had been travelling by railway without paying the proper fare.

stated in this letter to have done. He is, moreover, being watched by railway officials. If he were even once caught travelling without a proper ticket, his career of public service would come to an immediate end. He generally travels third class, but a friend had bought for him a second-class ticket from Morbi and so he had taken a seat in that compartment. From Muli, he changed into a third-class compartment for a short distance because he wanted to be with a friend who was travelling in that compartment. The worker has still with him the number on the second-class ticket which he held. Normally, no one preserves the number on a railway ticket but, as mentioned above, railway officials are a little too kindly disposed to him and ask him frequently to show his ticket. He also, therefore, has made it a practice to note down the number on his ticket. It does not appear that "A Passenger" had taken the trouble to examine the ticket himself or ask the worker for his explanation. So much about the facts of this case.

The complaint made in this letter should give every public worker reason for pride, and also teach him to be vigilant. It should give reason for pride because it shows that people expect to see perfection in workers who wear khadi, and it teaches him the need for vigilance because a worker wearing khadi must avoid any lapse. It should, however, be admitted that many self-seeking "workers" have exploited the khadi dress. Wearing khadi and having made people believe that they were men of self-sacrifice, such workers deceive society and refuse to make any amends. Such khadi-wearers disgrace khadi.

It is a perfectly legitimate assumption that anyone who cheats the railway company in the matter of fare will ultimately plunder the country, too, for his own gain. And yet many people think that it is not wrong to cheat the railway company and to travel by a higher class on a lower-class ticket. It is desirable that people who wear khadi and others engaged in national work keep away from such dishonesty. People, too, should understand that all persons who wear khadi are not saints, and those who do not wear it are not wicked men. Anybody, irrespective of whether he is a good man or a bad man, is free to adopt khadi as his dress. If others look upon khadi as sacred and feel themselves sanctified by wearing it, that is their special faith and does them honour. But this special faith of theirs does not concern the world. It is but right that people in the world should trust a person only after he has been put to the test.

In conclusion, I should like everyone to know that I have no disciple, or rather that I have only one, myself. All my time is

taken up in teaching myself, and so I need no other disciple.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-6-1926

79. NOTES

Spinning in Sansoli[1]

Sansoli is a village in the Kalol taluka of Panch Mahals district. Shri Ranchhoddas Shah has sent some interesting information about the spinning activity there, which I reproduce below:[2]

The number of spinning-wheels is not large enough to be remarkable, but the quantity of yarn produced on each wheel is quite good. But the most interesting particular mentioned in this report is that the spinner himself or herself cards the cotton and makes the slivers. It is essential that this improvement in the method of work should, wherever possible, be adopted forthwith. Carding is an easy operation, and those who card their own cotton can spin better and finer yarn and produce more of it in the same time, whereas it is difficult to spin to one's satisfaction if the carding has been done by a hired carder. Another point worth noting here is that the cultivator who gins the cotton grown by himself increases his earning considerably. The practice of ginning cotton at home can be revived only if the spinning is also done at home. Thus the revival of hand-spinning will automatically bring about the revival of many other industries which have disappeared, and enable an intelligent cultivator to add considerably to his income.

Self-purification among Chodhras[3]

Shri Narayan Malkani, a professor in the Gujarat Mahavidyalaya, had recently been to the parts around Vedchhi in Bardoli taluka and saw the work being done among the Chodhras there. He has sent a report of his observations for *Young India* of which I give here only the gist, since many points mentioned in the original are meant for readers outside Gujarat. In 1921 a good many villages had got rid of the evil of drink. Afterwards, a good number had started drinking again. The enduring work which is now being done there, thanks to some workers having settled for good

[1] The name, Sanosali, as originally spelt, was corrected in a note in *Navajivan*, 11-7-1926.

[2] The letter is not translated here.

[3] A scheduled tribe in South Gujarat

in the area, is interesting to observe. Shri Narayan Malkani is reporting only about the "clean" villages, clean in respect of drinking.

The Chodhras rank high among the Kaliparaj[1] communities. They till their own land; but, thanks to their addiction to drinking, the owners of liquor shops and money lenders in the area have become their masters and function as the "local" Government of the area. Those among them who succeed in freeing themselves from the grip of this "local" Government may be said to have won swaraj.

The Vedchhi Ashram[2] has strengthened the anti-drink movement through sound work in the field of khadi. Four hundred spinning-wheels are in commission at present, which means that 800 persons spin on them daily. There are more men than women among them. In the first[3] year 500 lbs. of yarn was spun; last[4] year, the quantity rose to 16,000 lbs. This gave about 4,000 square yards of khadi. The people stock the required cotton from what they grow in their own fields, card it themselves and then spin. The yarn is woven into cloth in Vedchhi itself by Chodhra boys. The charge for weaving is only two annas a yard, but the weaver gets some other help in addition to his wages. In some villages, this activity has provided work to carpenters too, and as a result people can have a fairly good spinning-wheel for Rs. 2. In this way, the people who wear khadi spend only two annas for every yard they use, and, where previously no supplementary occupation existed, two such occupations, weaving and carpentry, have come into existence.

When I visited the area two years ago, I asked the people how much they got through the spinning-wheel every year. An old man replied with evident pleasure that they got ten rupees. Shri Narayan Malkani gives detailed figures now. A Chodhra family requires 34 yds. of cloth in a year—10 yds. for children and 24 yds. for the husband and the wife. The family gets these 34 yards for Rs. 4¼, whereas previously when they bought their requirements in the market they had to pay Rs. 22 for the same quantity. Thus a family producing its own cloth saves Rs. 17¾. It is true, of course, that this does not take into account the cost of cotton. What would a poor Chodhra get for that cotton if he sold it in

[1] Scheduled tribes in Gujarat; literally, dark-skinned people

[2] The Ashram at Vedchhi, a village in the Surat district of Gujarat, managed by Jugatram Dave

[3] & [4] The words "first year" and "last year" were corrected in *Navajivan*, 11-7-1926.

the market? Seven rupees for 14 lbs. The net saving, therefore, comes to Rs. 11. To them this is a big enough saving. It is not as if all the families keep back the 14 lbs. of cotton which they would require and spin it into yarn, but we may say that a movement in the direction has started.

Reforming Village Life

We saw above that with the help of the spinning-wheel a slow but steady change is being brought about in the lives of the poor Chodhras. Without the aid of the spinning-wheel, the workers could not have come into contact with the village people merely by making speeches against the evil of drinking. If, moreover, they had not shown to the latter a profitable way of spending the whole of their spare time, what effect could they have produced by their propaganda work? The workers stopped the village people from drinking and placed the spinning-wheel in their hands. They started schools for children, schools, moreover, in which the pupils do not receive the kind of clerk-making education which other schools impart but get education which will help them to be good farmers, spinners and weavers and live as useful members of society. The experiment is still in its initial stage; but the present ways of a child can tell us a little what he will be like when he grows up, and we can, therefore, hope from what has been achieved so far that we shall get excellent results in course of time. For, along with spinning, other occupations connected with it are also being revived. We may hope that, as a result of the work which is being done, the people will become free from the grip of what Prof. Malkani calls the "local" Government of the area, and that not by throwing off its yoke through force but by awakening the conscience of the present masters and bringing about a change of heart in them. This will happen because, once people learn to give all their time to work and stop borrowing money from professional money-lenders and patronizing the liquor shops, they are bound to become free from the grip of either.

A Correction

Referring to the "Note" in the *Navajivan* of June 13, about the Mahudha khadi centre, a gentleman writes as follows:[1]

If we had many more such readers who read their *Navajivan* carefully and drew attention to errors, in a short time the paper

[1] The letter is not translated here. For the "Note", *vide* Vol. XXX, pp. 573-4.

would be free from errors. It is certainly my own ambition that the paper should contain no error of fact, should use no improper word or be faulty in language. I know, however, that faults of language occur. Errors of fact creep in sometimes through inadvertence. The only claim I can make is that the language of the paper is restrained. As regards errors of fact, we need the help of readers. To prevent faults of language, the press should have more efficient workers and those who write for *Navajivan* should be studious of their language. I am not well equipped in regard to any of these, but despite these handicaps the desire to continue *Navajivan* is strong. Those readers of the paper, therefore, who love it have no option but to bear for the present with the errors which occur.

The correspondent is certainly right in regard to the error in multiplication pointed out by him. Asked about the quantity of yarn produced from 20 maunds of yarn, Shri Mohanlal Pandya explains:

> The statements that 20 maunds of yarn was produced and 65 pieces of khadi were woven in [the month of] *Vaishakh* does not mean that all the 20 maunds of yarn was used for producing the 65 pieces. For 65 pieces, at the most 11 maunds of yarn would be required. The rest remained in balance. The quantity of yarn left in balance varies from month to month, depending on the number of weavers who work during the month.

I need not suggest to friends who send reports that they should bear in mind that *Navajivan* has readers who read the paper with attention and, therefore, should work out their figures carefully and supply full details.

TRUE GURU

A gentleman writes as follows in support of my note explaining the qualities of a true guru:[1]

Ramdas Swami has actually said in so many words that man need not search for any guru outside of himself; that one should follow the path indicated by one's own sense of discrimination born of one's faith in God, be guided by that sense of discrimination and always work in a spirit of sacrifice. That saint of Maharashtra has said in these few words all that needs to be said.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-6-1926

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 17-6-1926, under the sub-title, "In Search of a Guru", and "Notes", 24-6-1926, under the sub-title, "The True Guru".

74. LETTER TO G. D. CHATTERJEE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 27, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter drawing my attention to Mr. Spender's article.[1] I am inclined to deal with the portion quoted by you in the pages of *Young India*.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. G. D. CHATTERJEE
LAHORE

From the original: C.W. 7740; also G.N. 6778. Courtesy: Parasram Mehrotra

75. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 27, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Mr. Muggeridge[3] will be quite welcome whenever he comes.

I wish I could see eye to eye with you in regard to the temple. But unfortunately, I cannot enthuse over it. My temple today is the spinning-wheel through which I see the possibility of bringing a ray of hope to the crumbling cottages of India.

[1] Gandhiji discussed portions from Spender's article in *Young India*; *vide* "Colour Bar *v.* Swadeshi", 1-7-1926.

[2] This letter was returned by the Dead Letter Office.

[3] Malcolm Muggeridge of Union Christian College, Alwaye, whose speech on "Nationalism and Christianity" Gandhiji published in *Young India*, 22-7-1926. *Vide* "Letter to C. Vijayaraghavachariar", 9-7-1926.

I thank you for your enquiry about Devdas. He is convalescing at Mussoorie with a friend.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR
KODAIKANAL

From a photostat: S.N. 12061

76. LETTER TO S. SHANKER

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 27, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I still think that you ought not to leave your job and come to me. It is much better that you follow out in Bombay the rules of life at the Ashram. Surely there should be no difficulty about your learning Hindi and Sanskrit in Bombay. There are so many classes. There is a free Sanskrit class conducted in Kalbadevi Road[1] by Narahari Shastri. It should be easier for you to go to some one to teach you Hindi.

If you will go to the untouchable quarters in Madugaum, you will have no difficulty in knowing untouchables from touchables. There is in Matunga[2] a school conducted for untouchables. You can devote some time to that school if you choose to do so. And where you cannot do any personal work for them, and if you have even a few pice to spare, you may set aside that amount and give to those who are working for the so-called untouchables.

Yours sincerely,

S. SHANKER, ESQ.
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19642

[1] In Bombay
[2] Suburb in Bombay

77. LETTER TO D. N. BAHADURJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 27, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. 50 strength means half of what it should be. And strength means the quality of twist. A properly twisted thread will stand the strain of a standard weight and still not break and that standard means 100 marks. But if it stands only half of that weight, it would be 50 marks. But 50 strength is really not good enough for the weaver. Mill yarn too rarely attains 100 marks. But 70 marks would be creditable and it will offer no difficulty to the weaver in weaving. 50 is the standard mark for evenness of thread. When a well-twisted thread is not even, it snaps as it passes through the apparatus which is meant for receiving hundreds of threads called warp which give us the width of cloth. If the thread is uneven, it breaks from time to time. The more even the yarn, therefore, the better it is for weaving; hence the necessity for obtaining at least 45 marks for evenness. Constant looking at the strand after the spinning is finished enables one to gauge the evenness, and the actual breaking of the yarn in order to gauge the strength enables one to arrive roughly at the possible strength. And when you get your yarn tested from time to time, you are in a position to make the necessary improvements which come by careful progress. I hope I am now clear. I felt so thankful and delighted that you are taking so much interest in this poor man's work. What a silent revolution it would mean in our life if we could identify ourselves with the poorest of our people in a practical manner such as the spinning-wheel presents!

Yours sincerely,

D. N. BAHADURJI, ESQ.
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19643

78. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI MEHTA

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Vad 2, 1982 [June 27, 1926]

BHAISHRI BHAGWANJI,

I have your letter. Why do you suppose that I am prejudiced against you? Because I cannot accept your argument it does not mean that I am prejudiced against you. It is not my experience that I could refrain from sensual pleasures because I am married. How can I then accept this position? Among my friends there are a number of life-long celebates, men as well as women. Then how can I entertain any doubt?

About God I shall write in *Navajivan* when I have the time. I say when I have the time because the question you ask has been asked often and there will be nothing new in my reply; but I shall try to take it up for your sake. I have never had any doubts about your honesty.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI BHAGWANJI ANUPCHAND MEHTA
SADAR
RAJKOT

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19924

79. LETTER TO LAXMIDAS P. ASAR

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Vad 2, 1982, June 27, 1926

CHI. LAXMIDAS,

I get your letters regularly. Valabehn is better but I find she has to be nursed with utmost care. Anandi has started running. Mani has donated her nose-ring to me and has also got her gold necklace snapped up by me. It has been resolved that the price of khadi made through the Charkha Sangh could be put up by 6¼ p.c. to 12½ p.c. to meet the cost of establishment and distribution. It has also been decided that before implementing this resolution the views of all the agents should be ascertained. It is very good that you do a lot of walking. Do not be in the least hurry to

come over here. I would not be satisfied even with 89 p.c. strength in the yarn. My intention is to get 100 p.c. but I do not know where the difficulty lies. If the strength is 100 p.c. the evenness of the yarn also, I am sure, would be 100 p.c. I believe it is so because I find that the evenness of my yarn improves with the strength.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19645

80. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SABARMATI,
Jeth Vad 2, 1982, June 27, 1926

CHI. DEVDAS,

Your letter. You did not write to me what work you had at Motilalji's. Whatever it might have been, I am happy that you had a chance to serve him. I can also say that it is not worth coming here now. It has been very hot. It did rain yesterday, so it may get a little cool. It is very sultry today, it could not but be because people were dying—not to speak of animals—for want of rain. And even now we need plenty of rain.

Rajendrababu is leaving just now. In the current issue of *Hindi Navajivan*, he has had a good share. It is good that all three of you do a lot of walking. I wish you to return only after gaining good strength. Khadi is bound to command respect as long as there are a few khadi-wearers at any rate who selflessly devote themselves to social service. I have not read a single book of Hardy's. He was or is a good novelist—that's all I know about him. I could not get thoroughly acquainted with that German lady as I am very busy with my work. I intended to see her today, but could not.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19646

81. LETTER TO RAI PRABHUDAS BHIKHABHAI

ASHRAM,
June 27, 1926

BHAISHRI PRABHUDAS,

Your letter. You should write without reserve whatever you wish to and I shall answer as far as I can. Whatever the *Gita* says about the practice of yoga is only commendatory. It does not propose to teach any of the exercises. These should be learnt from a proper person. I myself do not know their sequence. I cited the example of friends who have practised *pranayama*[1]. If one could attain *brahmacharya* merely through *pranayama*, a great problem would be solved but thereby *brahmacharya* would come to lose much of its importance. I do hold that *pranayama* and such other exercises make the observance of *brahmacharya* easier for the aspirant. I may even put someone from amongst the *brahmacharis* staying with me under those who have experience. You must not interpret what I say to mean that I want you to give up your studies. Indeed I wish you all success in them.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SJT. RAI PRABHUDAS BHIKHABHAI
KATHANA LOT
POST KATHLAL
Via NADIAD

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19922

[1] Breath regulation

82. LETTER TO BASANTI DEVI DAS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 29, 1926

MY DEAR SISTER,

I hope you received my telegram[1] about Bhomble. I do not know what to say or how to console. When I think about poor Sujata and you, the whole picture of sorrow rises before me. I can only hope that your innate bravery is not only keeping you up, but is proving a tower of strength to Sujata and all other members of the family surrounding you at the present moment. Do let me have a line if you can.

Yours,

SHRIMATI BASANTI DEVI DAS
C/O SUDHIR ROY
2 BELTOLA ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 19644

83. LETTER TO NARANDAS ANANDJI

ASHRAM,
June 29, 1926

BHAISHRI NARANDAS,

Today Prof. Gidwani gave me the shocking news that the vine whose grapes you send me with such love is treated with specially slaughtered goat's blood, or the blood brought from the slaughter-house to feed the roots of the plant. He said that Bhai Ranchhoddas gave him the news and Bhai Ranchhoddas himself brings the grapes from the orchard. I cannot credit this story. It seems there is some misunderstanding somewhere, but since the doubt has arisen, it should be resolved. I thought of sending you a wire, but am writing this instead, seeking explicit clarifica-

[1] This is not available. *Vide* "Letter to Urmila Devi", 30-6-1926.

tion. But do reply to me by wire. If the tale is true, please stop sending me the grapes.

Blessings from
BAPU

BHAISHRI NARANDAS ANANDJI
KARACHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19923

84. LETTER TO MOTILAL

ASHRAM,
June 29, 1926

BHAISHRI MOTILAL,

Your letter. A man who sets out to find the right guru, should, I believe, become free himself from faults and passions. Being free from faults and passions does not mean being absolutely perfect. It is only modest to feel the need for a guru. A guru need not necessarily be a living person. Even today I regard as my guides some who, though not yet perfect, have reached a high stage [of spiritual development]. There is no point in trying to know the difference between a perfect man and God. Since it is impossible to get a perfect answer, one must find a reply through one's own experience.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SJT. MOTILAL
C/o MESSRS KUNVERJI UMARSHI & CO.
COOPERGANJ
KANPUR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19925

85. LETTER TO URMILLA DEVI[1]

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 30, 1926

I have your letter[2]. Since then I have also learnt about Bhomble's death. Though it is a very severe blow, perhaps, it is well that he has passed out of the present body. I do not know how Sujata is bearing her grief. You will tell me all about the last moments of the boy. He had many faults, but he had also a nobility about him which was most charming. But he had lost the power of struggling against the devil within him.

The Bengal politics make me sad and miserable when I think of them.[3] It is difficult to follow the intricacies from this distance. How is it that Das's most trusted men have seceded? I almost feel that it would have been better if you had stood aloof from the quarrel. But, of course, you being on the spot should know best.

The death of Deghapatia[4] is also a sad business. I remember having met him at Darjeeling. You know when. Having such a slight acquaintance, I have not written to his family. But you will please convey my condolence if you think fit. And, the son, what about him?[5] A terrible tragedy. One feels absolutely helpless when one contemplates such things over which there is no control.

Yes, Devdas is quite all right and he is at Mussoorie, convalescing with Jamnalalji's friends. We have now a German lady as an addition to the Ashram. I do not know how she will fare; it is yet too early to say.

Yours,

From a photostat: S.N. 10954

[1] C. R. Das's sister

[2] Dated June 21, 1926

[3] Urmila Devi had written, *inter alia*, of the "constant quarrelling" between the Sengupta group and the so-called aristocratic group in the Congress, consisting of such leaders as T. C. Goswami, N. R. Sarkar, S. C. Bose, and Dr. B. C. Roy, and had reported that the aristocratic group had deserted the Congress altogether and aligned itself with mischievous elements (S.N. 10946).

[4] The Raja of Deghapatia

[5] Urmila Devi had written that the twenty-eight-year-old son of the Raja lay seriously ill and dying.

86. LETTER TO IGNATIUS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 30, 1926

MY DEAR IGNATIUS,

I have your letter and the book. Please thank your friend on my behalf for having sent the book. I am returning it to you as I have read the book and I have also a copy of it. I read it in the Yeravda jail and a copy was presented to me by a well-known Catholic friend, I think, in Dehra Dun. I like the book for the charming simplicity with which the saintly girl has described her life, her hopes and her aspirations. The supernatural part of it had no appeal for me. The persistency with which she secured admission to the Convent commanded my respect and admiration. The purity of her character was worthy of adoration. Her rigorous self-examination was inspiring. The canonization, etc., did not interest me.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 11198

87. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 30, 1926

MY DEAR C. R.,

I have your letter about Tirupur khadi. The complaint is not about seasonal khadi. The comparison has been set up between last year's and this year's production. And the correspondent, who was himself a lover of khadi and an admirer of Tirupur khadi, contends that it has been progressively deteriorating. And as you see, Jerajani endorses the verdict up to a point. Whether a public statement is made or not, I think a more thorough investigation is necessary. If the hot season causes deterioration, we must either find out ways and means of combating the evils of heat or we must frankly tell the public that they must expect two qualities according to the seasons and, therefore, also two prices.

With reference to your tour, I have well-nigh despaired of any tour coming forth during the year through no fault of anybody. It is difficult to get you all ready at the same time. And you will insist upon having some unavoidable thing at the last moment and postpone your departure which is, the conjuction of your stars. I would suggest complete cancellation of touring unless you have courage enough to go out even single. Manilal is not available till the first of September. He has been postponing the work of his Railway Association from time to time and I cannot put any pressure upon him when he pleads the cause of his association. Jamnalalji never cancels a programme he accepts, but it is unjust to him and unjust to the cause to bind him to a programme which is not irrevocable. I have therefore freed him from all obligations. He will join you when you are ready if he at all can. Nobody wants to tour without you. You are therefore the central figure. Seeing that your own movements are eratic and beyond your control, the only thing to do is for you to say when you will move out and such men as can be got together will form the company. And if you have not the heart to undertake the job on these conditions, by all means give up the idea of touring this year, only remember this much that the Maharashtra tour has been fixed up after your definite instructions. But if these instructions were conditional upon Manilal Kothari and Jamnalalji joining you, let the Maharashtra tour also be cancelled. Please wire to me your decision. And do not hesitate to say no if the touring is really beyond you, whether on account of your difficulties at Tiruchengodu or any other. It is no use trusting to chance.

Devdas is still at Mussoorie. He is gathering strength and helping Punditji[1]. In what way, he does not state. Laxmidas and Lalji are with him. Jamnalalji was here. He has gone for a few days to Ranpur to examine Amritlal Seth's undertaking. Rajendra Babu left yesterday. Pyarelal is still with Mathuradas who, as you know, has gone to Panchgani, and is rendering invaluable help to Mathuradas. I have now a German lady. She came here on Saturday. Thus the Ashram is fairly full. Chhotalal has now calmed down and is trying to specialize in spinning and weaving, etc. There is no question therefore now of his travelling with you or coming to you.

Yours,

From a copy: S.N. 11199

[1] Motilal Nehru

88. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 30, 1926

I have your postcard. It is surprising how you managed to get ill somehow or other. Instead of having a good and quiet time at Kotgarh, you must have blood-poisoning[1].

I wrote a long letter some days ago to the Kotgarh address. Do please let me know fully how you are keeping. Do come here if you at all feel like it. And you know you will have all the nursing that you can possibly desire or need.

Yours,

From a photostat: S.N. 19647

89. A.I.C.P.A. BALANCE-SHEET

The following is the balance-sheet of the A.-I. Cow-Protection Association ending 30th April 1926:[2]

It will be noted that the proceeds of the sale of yarn have been very poor because the yarn was mostly bad.[3] If the subscribers will improve the quality of their yarn, they will without extra trouble or expense to themselves increase the amount paid by them.

Young India, 1-7-1926

90. COLOUR BAR v. SWADESHI

Thus writes Mr. Spender:

> Gandhi would keep out European goods; the South Africans would go a step further and keep out the Indians. Swadeshi and Colour Bar Bills are the obverse and reverse of the same idea; both follow from the despairing thought that East and West cannot intermingle without des-

[1] Caused by insect bite

[2] The accounts are not reproduced here.

[3] This was only Rs. 26 and odd out of receipts totalling a little over Rs. 6,154.

> troying each other's characteristic ways of life. Gandhi, the saint, is full of benevolence, and I listened to him while he earnestly disclaimed all sympathy with violent or anarchical ways of changing any existing order. Yet, as he discoursed on the ravages which Western industrialism had wrought in the Indian village, I had the feeling that, if he were Emperor of India invested with plenary powers, the regulations that he would make for the admission of Europeans and their settlement in India might not greatly differ from those which the South Africans are attempting to impose on Indians in South Africa today. I have a very real respect for Mr. Gandhi, and I am, of course, aware that the last thing that he desires is to afford excuses for either form of intolerance. It is nevertheless true that 'Swadeshi' and 'Colour Bar' belong to the same spiritual family.[1]

This paragraph from Mr. Spender's article furnishes an extraordinary study in what Tolstoy would call hypnotism. Under the hypnotic influence of the standardized thought of the English official in India, Mr. Spender is unable to see any difference between the Colour Bar Bills of South Africa and the Indian swadeshi in terms of khaddar. Mr. Spender is an honest Liberal. He has some sympathy for Indian aspirations. But he cannot escape the influence of his immediate surroundings. What is true of him is no doubt true of every one of us. Hence the necessity for non-co-operation. When the surroundings are vicious, we must cut ourselves off from contact with those surroundings, in so far at least as our contact is voluntary.

But whether Mr. Spender's extraordinary proposition is an outcome of the hypnotic influence of his surroundings or whether it is really his own original idea, let us examine it. The Colour Bar Bill is aimed at men, not at measures. Swadeshi is aimed at measures only. Colour Bar is indiscriminately against a man's race or colour. Swadeshi knows no such distinction. The upholders of the Colour Bar would carry out their purpose even violently, if necessary. Swadeshi eschews all form of violence, even mental. The Colour Bar has no reason behind it. Swadeshi, in the form of khaddar, is a scientific formula supported by reason all along the line. Under the Colour Bar every Indian, no matter what educational qualifications he may possess, even though he may be thoroughly Westernized, is an undesirable person in the estimation of the Europeans of South Africa. The Colour Bar Bills are violent

[1] This was evidently the portion of Spender's article quoted by G. D. Chatterjee in his letter to Gandhiji; *vide* "Letter to G. D. Chatterjee", 27-6-1926.

in purpose, for, they would keep the natives of the soil and the Asiatic settlers for ever as unskilled labourers and will not allow them to rise above that status. The Colour Bar Bills are intended to do, under the name of civilization and for its protection, perhaps, in a more virulent form, what has been done in the name of Hinduism by Hindus to the so-called untouchables. But it is worthy of note that untouchability, whatever may be said to the contrary, is fast dying in India. Those who are devoting themselves to the removal of untouchability are also those who are enthusiastically advocating the universalization of the spinning-wheel. Untouchability is admitted to be an evil. The Colour Bar is being raised almost to the status of a religion in South Africa. The Colour Bar Bills would harm, and deprive of their possessions innocent men and women without any just cause. Whereas swadeshi is intended to harm not one single soul. It seeks to return to the poorest of the land what has been taken away from them almost by force. The Colour Bar Bills are exclusive. Swadeshi is never exclusive in the sense in which the Colour Bar Bills are. Swadeshi has no sympathy with the formula that East and West can never intermingle. Swadeshi does not banish all foreign or European goods, nor all machine-made goods, nor for that matter does swadeshi tolerate all home-made goods. Swadeshi admits of and welcomes the introduction of all foreign goods that cannot or need not be manufactured in India and that would benefit her people. Thus swadeshi admits all foreign books containing pure literature, all foreign watches, foreign needles, foreign sewing machines, foreign pins. But swadeshi excludes all intoxicating drinks and drugs even though they may be manufactured in India. Swadeshi concentrates itself upon the spinning-wheel and khaddar, to the exclusion of all foreign cloth and even cloth manufactured in the mills of India, for the very simple, sufficient, satisfying and moral reason that the destruction of the spinning-wheel has meant the destruction of the only supplementary industry of India for the millions of its peasants without furnishing any substitute. Thus, swadeshi in the form of khaddar and the spinning-wheel is a paramount necessity for the very existence of the millions of her paupers. Whereas the Colour Bar Bills are a response to the greed of a handful of Europeans who are, after all, exploiting the resources of a land which belongs not to them, but to the original inhabitants of South Africa. The Colour Bar Bills have, therefore, no moral foundation whatsoever so far as I can see. The exclusion or the extinction of the Asiatic settlers of South Africa is in no way required, can in no

way be proved to be necessary, for the existence of the South African Europeans. Still less can the suppression of the original inhabitants of South Africa be defended on any single moral ground. It is, therefore, painfully surprising to find a person of Mr. Spender's experience and attainments putting the highly moral swadeshi in the form of khaddar in the same category as the Colour Bar Bills. They do not belong to one family, let alone spiritual, but they belong to absolutely different families as different as the North Pole is from the South.

Mr. Spender speculates upon what I would do if I was 'Emperor of India invested with plenary powers'. Perhaps I can speculate with greater authority. If I were Emperor of India, I would extend the hand of fellowship to the whole of the world irrespective of caste, colour or creed, for, I claim the whole of mankind to be the children of one God, having absolutely the same capacity for self-realization as the tallest amongst them. I would disband practically the whole of the army of occupation in India, retaining only such police as may be necessary for the protection of her citizens against thieves and robbers. I would not bribe the Frontier tribes as they are being bribed today. But I would cultivate the friendliest relations with them and to that end send out reformers amongst them in order to find out the ways or means of providing useful occupation for them. I would guarantee the fullest protection for every European living in India and all honest European enterprises. I would impose a prohibitive tariff on all foreign cloth so as to exclude it entirely from India and bring khaddar under State control, so as to enable every villager who chooses to spin, feel that the products of his or her spinning-wheel would be taken up. I would prohibit the importation of intoxicating liquors and close down every distillery, confining the manufacture of alcohol and opium for proved medical necessity. I would guarantee full protection to all forms of religious worship, save what is repugnant to the moral sense of mankind. I would throw open to the so-called untouchables every public temple and public school to which all other Hindus have right of admission. I would summon the representatives of both the Hindus and Mussalmans, search their pockets and deprive them of all eatables and of all lethal weapons, if they have any, and lock them together in one room and open it only after they have settled their quarrels. There are of course many other things that I would do if I was Emperor of India. But since there is little chance of my being one, the foregoing is enough as a fair sample of what one who is mis-called a visionary, but who

considers himself a practical man, understanding the wants of the poorest people, would do if he had the power.

Young India, 1-7-1926

91. 'TOWARDS MORAL BANKRUPTCY'–I

Kind friends continue to send me cuttings from Indian newspapers approvingly dealing with the question of birth-control by the use of contraceptives. My correspondence with young men on their private conduct is increasing. I am able to discuss in these pages only an infinitesimal portion of the questions raised by my correspondents. American friends send me literature on the subject and some are even angry with me for having expressed an opinion against the use of contraceptives. They deplore that, an advanced reformer in many ways, I should be mediaeval in my views about birth-control. I find too that the advocates of the use of contraceptives number among them some of the soberest of men and women of all lands.

I therefore thought that there must be something very decisive in favour of the methods advocated and felt too that I should say on the subject more than I have done. Whilst I was thinking of the problem and of the question of reading the literature on the subject, a book called *Towards Moral Bankruptcy* was placed in my hands for reading. It deals with this very subject and, as it appears to me, in a perfectly scientific manner. The original is in French by M. Paul Bureau and is entitled *D' Indiscipline des moeurs* which literally means "the indiscipline of morals". The translation is published by Constable Company and has an introduction by Dr. Mary Scharlieb, C.B.E., M.D., M.S. (Lond.). It covers 538 pages in 15 chapters.

Having read the book, I felt that, before I summarized the author's views, I must in justice to the cause read the standard literature in favour of the methods advocated. I consequently borrowed from the Servants of India Society such literature as they had on the subject. They have very kindly lent me some of the books in their possession. . . . Kaka Kalelkar who is studying the subject has given me Havelock Ellis' volume specially bearing on the subject and a friend has sent me the special number of *The Practitioner* in which is collected some valuable medical opinion from well-known practitioners.

My purpose in collecting literature on the subject was to test the accuracy, so far as a layman could, of M. Bureau's conclusions.

One often finds that there are two sides to questions even when scientists discuss them and that there is much to be said for either side. I was anxious, therefore, to know the viewpoints of the advocates of contraceptives before I introduced to the reader M. Bureau's volume. I have come to the deliberate conclusion that so far at least as India is concerned, there is no case for the use of contraceptives. Those who advocate their use for Indian conditions either do not know them or choose to ignore them. But if it can be proved that the methods advocated are harmful even in the West, it would be unnecessary to examine the special Indian conditions.

Let us therefore see what M. Bureau has to say. His studies are confined to France. But France means much. It is considered to be [one of] the most advanced countries in the world and, if the methods have failed in France, they are not likely to succeed elsewhere.

Opinions may differ as to the meaning of the word 'failure'. I must therefore define the word as it is here meant. The methods must be proved to have failed if it can be shown that moral bonds have loosened, licentiousness has increased, and, instead of the check having been exercised by men and women for purposes of health and economic limitation of families only, it has been used principally for feeding animal passions. This is the moderate position. The extreme moral position condemns the use of contraceptives under every conceivable circumstance, it being contended that it is not necessary for man or woman to satisfy the sexual instinct except when the act is meant for race reproduction, even as it is not necessary for man or woman to eat except for sustaining the body. There is also the third position. There is a class of men who contend that there is no such thing as morality or that if there is, it consists not in exercising restraint but in indulgence of every form of animal appetite, so long as it does not so impair the constitution as to render it unfit for the very indulgence which is its object. For this extreme position, I do not suppose, M. Bureau has written his volume. For, M. Bureau concludes his book by quoting Tom Mann's saying: 'The future is for the nations who are chaste'.

In the first part of his book, M. Bureau has collected facts which make most dismal reading. It shows how vast organizations have sprung up in France which merely pander to man's basest tastes. Even the one claim of advocates of contraceptives that abortions must disappear with the use of these methods cannot be sustained. 'It is certain', says M. Bureau, 'that during the

twenty-five years that have especially seen the increase in France of anti-conceptionist methods, the number of criminal abortions has not become less.' M. Bureau is of opinion that abortions are on the increase. He puts down the figure at anything between 2,75,000 and 3,25,000 per year. Public opinion does not look upon them with the horror that it did years ago.

Young India, 1-7-1926

92. NOTES

Khaddar Exhibitions in Bihar

I have before me a fairly long report of the Khaddar Exhibitions that have been recently held in Bihar. The inspiration to hold these exhibitions was derived by Babu Rajendra Prasad from such an exhibition held by the All-India Agrawala Maha Sabha at Delhi during the year. The first such exhibition in Bihar was opened by Babu Satis Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratishthan, Calcutta. And as it proved successful, similar exhibitions were continued to be held in various parts of Bihar. The first exhibition was held on the grounds of Bihar Vidyapith on the banks of the Ganges, some three miles from Patna. The second was held in the Bihar Young Men's Institute and it was opened by Sadhu Vaswani of Sind. The third was held at Arrah and the fourth at Muzaffarpur and was opened by Maulvi Saheb Muhammad Shaffee. The fifth was held at Chupra[1] and was opened by Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haque. The sixth was held at Mairnea, a small village in the district of Chupra and the seventh and the last mentioned in the report was held at Gaya on the 11th instant. The highest attendance was at Gaya, in spite of terrible heat. It totalled 7,000. There was a large number of ladies included in the number. The least attendance was 2,000. The report goes on to state:

> These exhibitions are being visited by Congressmen, non-Congressmen, Government officials, Zamindars, lawyers, big and small merchants, and in some cases even Europeans. The exhibition at Mairnea was visited by crowds of simple villagers, rather than middle-class men.

The khadi sales averaged over a thousand each, the lowest being Rs. 400 at Mairnea, and the highest being Rs. 2,000 at Gaya. The report says:

[1] Also spelt as 'Chapra'

In these exhibitions all discord and dissension between Hindus an mans or political leaders holding different views was absent.

The methods adopted are:

> We approach at every place some prominent person and him to organise a khadi exhibition. We secure an influential open it. Invitation cards are issued to prominent people. The c is advertised by means of notices, placards, etc. In the evenings the exhibition time, magic lantern lectures are given illustrating t movement. Crowds are attracted to these lectures. After th tion is over, khadi is hawked in the places where it is held. pose to continue to hold these exhibitions and expect to clear stock which amounts to Rs. 80,000.

I observe from this report that noted men conducted tl and hawking at these exhibitions.

Professor Presented with Khaddar

Quite recently, the students of the economic departn the Patna College presented Professor Hamilton on his ret with a piece of khaddar of local manufacture with the fo remarks by their spokesman as quoted in *The Searchlight*:

> Sir, I know you to be a devout follower of the late Prof. who lays down the basic concept of all his works on economics: ' the one side a study of wealth, on the other and more important part of the study of man.' And for you we cannot choose a better than a piece of khadi, from start to finish, a Bihar product, made indigenous Kukti cotton. It lays bare to you, Sir, not only the e endeavours of our country but the very heart of our nation. side of wealth-production it represents that part of it which goes to the poor man's mite, and on its human side, represents the c struggle to provide food for the famished and to clothe the shame naked.

It is to be wished that all the students whether of Gove College or other will appreciate the economics of khaddar Patna College students have done and will follow their ex whenever they have any occasion to make presentations.

Khaddar in Mysore

A correspondent writes:

> Some khaddar lovers of Mysore have started a co-operative in Mysore town since July 1925. Not much khaddar is yet locall duced. The organisers therefore secure khaddar from Andhra, Nadu and Karnatak. The Society intends to increase its capital.

sent they have 365 shares of Rs. 10 each. The shareholders are required to pay Re. 1 per month on each allotted share. But some have paid the whole amount. There are 109 members of the society. The shop purchases locally spun yarn at the rate of As. 12 per pound. It is then locally woven. The society is spending only Rs. 32 per month for the establishment and other charges. The paid-up capital between July 1925 and May last was Rs. 2,036. Khaddar purchased was Rs. 8,905. Khaddar sold was Rs. 8,008.

This is no doubt an unpretentious beginning for a town like Mysore. But if the example is copied by other towns and if the management is able and honest, there is no doubt that there is a great future for khaddar in Mysore.

WHO CAN AFFILIATE?

A question has been asked what are the terms of affiliation for *goshalas* to All-India Cow-Protection Association. No rules have yet been passed by the Committee. But I adopt the suggestions of Chaunde Maharaj that it should be one per cent of the net income of the society seeking affiliation. Full particulars should be supplied at the time of affiliation and the applicant society should be prepared to endorse the objects of the Association and submit to inspection and audit by the Association. The affiliated institution or society shall have the right to have the advice of the experts of the Association and free use of the literature at its disposal and such other guidance as may be in its power to render. These rules will naturally be subject to the sanction of the Committee of the A.-I. Cow-Protection Association. I would welcome suggestions before the rules are placed before the Committee.

Young India, 1-7-1926

93. ALL-INDIA DESHBANDHU MEMORIAL

A correspondent draws my attention to the fact that the acknowledgments of amounts received on behalf of the All-India Deshbandhu Memorial Fund have been loosely dealt with in *Young India* in that there has been no continuity. This is true because as intimations were received either from the Secretary or the Treasurer, I passed on the memoranda without checking and without examining the last totals. The correspondent is therefore unable to know whether the monies paid by himself have been actually credited to the All-India Deshbandhu Memorial Fund or

not. Upon receipt of this letter, I corresponded[1] with the Treasurer and secured a copy of the full list of subscribers to date. In order to avoid any confusion and error and so as to enable every subscriber to find out for himself whether his subscription has or has not been received, I am publishing the full list[2]. I am unable to give the whole list in one issue, if only because the second part of the list is still under examination.

I need hardly assure the reader that the funds at the Treasurer's office are most jealously kept and they are banked as soon as they are received. The confusion has arisen not owing to faulty or careless book-keeping, but owing to omission to publish *all* lists received at the *Young India* office. I shall be thankful if subscribers will look up the list that is being now published and call my attention to any omission they may discover.

Young India, 1-7-1926

94. LETTER TO SHEWAKRAM KARAMCHAND

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 2, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is perfectly possible to completely stop involuntary night discharges. I have not entirely succeeded, but I know that it is perfectly possible. I have been free often for months and months. And I recall even a time when I was free for over a year. Why that long spell of freedom was broken is a long story. The discharges are neither natural nor beneficial for health. They are an interruption to the full development of health and, when one's mind has become absolutely free from passion of every kind, night discharges are an impossibility. It is a state attainable by all. But it is attained by sustained and even painful effort.

I have your second letter also which I might deal with later in the pages of *Young India*.[3] I have always wanted to give your

[1] This letter is not available.

[2] Not reproduced here

[3] It is not clear what the addressee's second letter was about; *vide*, however, "Conservation of Vital Energy", 2-9-1926.

boys a letter in my own handwriting, but something or other has come in the way. Here are a few lines now.[1]

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

SJT. SHEWAKRAM KARAMCHAND
TEACHER
M. A. V. SCHOOL
OLD SUKKUR
(SIND)

From a microfilm: S.N. 19648

95. LETTER TO SATCOWRIPATI ROY

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 2, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your telegram, but such news as you have given me always travels fast. I got the news of Bhomble's death twenty-four hours before your telegram. I telegraphed to Sudhir and wrote also to Basanti Devi giving such comfort as was possible.

I hope you are keeping well and that things in Bengal are shaping themselves right.

Yours sincerely,

BA[B]U SATCOWRIPATI ROY
BHAWANIPUR
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19649

96. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday [July 2, 1926][2]

BHAI RAMESHWARJI,

Your letter. As for God, He is always testing us. What does it matter if a whole lifetime is spent in repeating *Ramanama*. We should repeat *Ramanama* with faith that it is the best remedy.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 164

[1] The enclosure is not available.
[2] From the postmark

97. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

THE ASHRAM,
July 2, 1926

BHAISHRI KAKA,

Both your letters to hand. Much of what you write is due, I see, to your misunderstanding. I am not backing out at all. Only I would not be on the committee which I do regard as right. All the rules are framed by the committee. Even in the matter of selecting a name, do not accept my suggestion only. I do not think there are more men on the committee than are needed. Nowadays Mama[1] and Narahari[2] do not come here at all. There is at present such an understanding with Vinoba that every three months he should come and stay here for quite some time. I have asked for a copy of the rules being sent to Mama, Narahari and Appa[3].

As the principles were laid down at the time of the founding of the Ashram[4] they are not mentioned in these rules. Panditji[5] and Chhaganlal Joshi[6] can both be on the committee. They do not wish to be there. I rather liked their plea. They are neither particularly enthusiastic nor indifferent about the committee. I regard the committee as absolutely necessary. It is indeed my aim not to tie down the committee here and now with too many rules.

I believe we cannot yet interest ourselves in the affairs of the families. One who has lived in the Ashram for five years and studiously endeavours to observe its rules can become a member of the managing committee. The committee of course has overall control of all the departments.

If your interpretation of the rules is correct they will have to be amended.

I have conceived of the school as an autonomous body within the Ashram itself. The managing committee is not intended to acquire some prerogatives for its members. Living in the Ashram

[1] Vaman Laxman Phadke
[2] Narahari D. Parikh
[3] Appa Saheb Patwardhan
[4] In 1915
[5] Presumably, Narayan Moreshwar Khare
[6] Head Master of the Ashram school

and leading a similar life [elsewhere] I regard as one and the same.

I did know your opinion on the question of prayer, but I did not send you my comments. All the aspects had been discussed here, so I presumed you must have inferred my opinion from it. There was an open discussion and I had discussed the matter specially with Mahadev. Had I found a difference of principle in the opinion you held, I would have joined issue with you.

From my standpoint, I do not agree that there is any divergence between us in regard to the ideals of the Ashram school. The reason why you think there is, is that you do not fully understand that I am an *anekantavadin*[1]. I am quite convinced that we are at present in no position to take pupils from outside; besides we are trying new experiments every day. It is certainly desirable to make experiments, but we cannot involve outsiders even if we try to. Fortunately they are not so simple-minded as to get themselves readily involved. People all over the world act in accordance with current traditions and that is only right. We are either too advanced or too backward for many to keep us company. I believe, nowhere else in India is the educational field so wide as ours, because we deal with children and also with their parents. We may not perhaps be in a position to cope with that field, but what I say is true. What does it matter if people from outside compare our school with Ambalalbhai's? Should we not be guided by our own conscience? Certainly we have no wish to boycott anyone. Tulsidas, the *Antyaja*, would have a place right here.

The object in having you on the committee is clear enough, viz., that all may feel the need to consult you while you are at the Ashram. Let us assume that perhaps Maganlal may not feel that way. Is that any reason why you should hesitate? If my idea of the committee is correct, Mahadev, Kishorelal and Maganlal cannot by themselves carry the burden.

The ideal before the school would be to discover through experiments what national education is and for the teachers to consider themselves as pupils because they are seekers, too, groping for their ideal. I place you and myself in the same category. The idea you have in regard to khadi is equally true in regard to education.

What you have yet to do is this. Return the rules after adding to or deleting from them. There may possibly be an error in

[1] In Jainism one who looks at things from various points of view

incorporating into the rules that part of your criticism which all accept. Therefore I want you to translate your own criticism into the rules, so that it will be easy for everyone to understand it. Else we would all be trying to interpret them in our own way.

You write nothing about your health. Let me know about the weather there. Shanker has written many letters to you. Now what about his complaint that you have not replied to them?

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. KAKASAHEB
YEOTMAL

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19926

98. LETTER TO V. R. KOTHARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] Jamnalalji is now here. I have discussed the thing with him. His opinion is that your institution is good so far as it goes. It is an ordinary type of boarding house looking after about 25 boys belonging to the depressed classes. The funds which friends place at my disposal for this work are limited. Several institutions, some better carrying out the purpose I and those who are associated with me have in view, are being supported. To pay you Rs. 10,000/- would be to pay practically the whole of the expense of the building. When you embarked upon the scheme, you had not any help through me in view. It seems to me that you should exert yourself to approach others who are also interested in such work and enlist their support. It is not right for me to burden the trust at my disposal with a single heavy item. It seems to me that Rs. 5,000/- can be more usefully employed for the same cause by distributing the same amongst several equally needy and equally efficient institutions. I have shown

[1] On March 9, 1926, Kothari had referred to a grant of Rs. 5,000 Gandhiji gave him for a Depressed Classes Hostel, at Bari, in Sholapur District and renewed his request for a further grant. Jamnalal Bajaj paid a visit to the institution (S.N. 11120). *Vide* also Vol. XXX. On June 28, Kothari wrote reminding Gandhiji of his request for the grant (S.N. 11168).

this letter to Jamnalalji who is as much interested in the welfare of the depressed classes as I am and who helps me in raising funds for such purpose.[1]

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V. R. KOTHARI
POONA CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 11127

99. LETTER TO SHALIGRAM SHASTRI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 3, 1926

BHAI SHALIGRAM SHASTRI,

Your letter to hand. Also received your telegram. You must have got my telegram informing you that Harihar Sharma was going back and that you might fix any date after August 16. I can well understand the reason for your not coming at this time.

I send you a copy of the scheme which Pandit Harihar Sharma has drawn up in consultation with the local workers. Please study it and place it before the committee if necessary, and obtain their opinion also on this.

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19650

100. KHADI WORK IN GARIADHAR

Shri Shambushanker has been working in Gariadhar on behalf of the Conference[2]. His record of work is noteworthy. He persuaded 1,100 families in 41 villages around Gariadhar to stock cotton and helped them with all facilities up to the stage of weaving. Approximately 3,000 maunds of cotton has been stocked, out of which 800 maunds was ginned on hand-wheels. There is a cess on carding in this region, but those who carded this cotton for being turned into slivers were exempted from this cess. Out of all these families, only 112 families availed themselves of the assistance offered by the Conference in terms of its resolutions on the subject, namely, one-half the expenditure incurred on carding

[1] In reply to this, Kothari wrote again on July 5 (S.N. 11128).
[2] Kathiawar Political Conference

and weaving. Till now, only Rs. 164 have been spent on this account. As near-famine conditions prevailed in this area, cheap slivers were also supplied. About 8 maunds of slivers were sold to nearly 50 families, at the rate of 6 annas a pound, and most of this was used for making women's garments. It is estimated that no more than Rs. 50 would have to be set aside for this purpose. In addition to this, because of the famine conditions, cotton was also purchased from the market and got spun into yarn on payment, with a view to having it woven into cloth. So far, 295 maunds of cotton have been ginned, and made into slivers in the Centre itself. The quantity is in the process of being spun and woven into cloth. The cost of ginning came to Rs. 110. The cotton-pods yielded 99¾ maunds of cottonwool and 190 maunds of cotton-seeds. The yarn being spun is of 4 to 8 counts. The rate of payment for spinning is five pies per count. The rate for carding and making slivers is Rs. 2-12-0 per pound, and for weaving it is Rs. 8. The khadi woven is of 24 inches to 27 inches width, and one maund of khadi measures between 110 and 115 yards in length. Shri Shambhushanker tries to get all the khadi produced sold locally. He has so far sold 962 yards of khadi at the rate of 17 annas for 3¼ yards, which comes nearly to 5 annas a yard. A maund of yarn is woven into cloth every day. Moreover khadi is woven in this area for the Amreli Khadi Centre too. This khadi measures 30 inches in width. The work in this centre is being done efficiently and economically, and the chief reason for this seems to be that Shri Shambhushankerbhai mixes with and maintains close contacts with each spinner, carder and weaver. My object in publishing the figures which I receive from the various centres is that they may learn and derive inspiration from one another. Healthy and pleasant competition amongst the various centres should be welcome. The field of work is so large that it offers scope for sacrifice for thousands of voluntary workers and can help thousands of others to make a living. Those, moreover, who become interested in this work and realize that village life can have the beauty of poetry can derive the utmost happiness from it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-7-1926

101. RESTRICTIONS ON WOMEN IN MENSES

A widow writes as follows:

> I am told that a woman in menses should not touch books, paper, pencil, slate and such other things connected with learning. Do you also believe in this?

Such a question can be asked only in a wretched country like India which is disgraced by foolish notions about touching and not touching things. Some of the rules forbidding such a woman to touch a particular thing can be justified on grounds of health and morality. During that period, the woman is unfit to do hard work. It is very necessary that she should remain undisturbed by sex desire. A married woman should altogether avoid the company of her husband, and rest is very necessary for her, but it is not only not improper for her to read good books or to study but, on the contrary, I believe that it is desirable and necessary that she should do so. We can think of a number of household chores which such a woman can do with comfort and with little exertion.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-7-1926

102. GUJARAT KHADI PRACHARAK MANDAL

According to the accounts for the second *Chaitra*[1] received from the Gujarat Khadi Mandal, 9,654 square yards of khadi was woven in fifteen different centres out of yarn spun personally by people who got it woven. One of the centres wove 410 square yards of khadi from ready yarn and 3,349 sq. yards of khadi for sale was woven in ten centres. A subsidy of Rs. 1,493 at the rate of ¼ an anna a *vishi*[2] per yard was given to fifteen centres. Khadi worth Rs. 7,580 was sold through eleven stores. The total number of workers in the various centres was 41. Besides, there were 15 carders, 117 weavers, 172 persons spinning for themselves and 689 spinning for wages. The figures of work for a period of eleven months are as follows: Khadi woven out of yarn spun by the persons who had it woven, 35,033 sq. yards; khadi made from ready-made yarn,

[1] A month in the Hindu calendar, roughly corresponding to March-April; in this year there was an extra, i.e., second *Chaitra*.

[2] A unit of a warp comprising twenty threads

7,756 sq. yards; khadi for sale, both spinning and weaving done through the centres, 20,595 sq. yards; a subsidy of Rs. 10,584 at the rate of half an anna; the sale of khadi through the various stores, Rs. 80,063. These figures do not include those relating to centres in Kathiawar. During the second *Chaitra*, the Mandal sold 19 spinning-wheels, 50 *taklis*[1], 32 spindles, 105 lb. of slivers, 40 lb. of yarn, 60 bows for carding, 29 charkhas and 56 aterans[2]. In the figures above, annas and fractions have been left out. These statistics may seem ludicrous in the context of our aim of bringing about boycott of foreign cloth, but, as a measure of the progress of khadi itself, of the help given to the poor and from the standpoint of middle-class men and women who wish to earn their living through voluntary service, they are not ludicrous but heartening. As our capacity for work improves and workers acquire self-confidence, khadi will make even faster progress. Anyone who takes the trouble to think cannot but see that, if there is any work which can become universal in the country, it is that connected with the production of khadi.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 4-7-1926

103. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM

[SABARMATI],
Monday [*July 5, 1926*][3]

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

I have your welcome letter. So you will give me a Tamil lesson and something noble every Monday. I understand all the Tamil you have given me, of course with your careful notes.

Love to you all. I have mentioned your proposal to Devdas. But I do not think, he will come. He is all right now.

Yours,
BAPU

SUNDARAM
C/o MRS. STOKES
KOTGARH
Via SIMLA

From a photostat: G.N. 3102

[1] Spindles worked with hand
[2] Wooden gadgets on which yarn is wound off a spindle
[3] From the postmark

104. LETTER TO THE EDITOR "HINDOO"

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 5, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Here is my article[1] for the *Hindoo* if it may be so called.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

THE EDITOR
Hindoo
SIND (HYDERABAD)

From a microfilm: S.N. 19652

105. MESSAGE FOR "HINDOO"

July 5, 1926

I must not be tired of repeating what I found to be a fundamental truth for India's freedom. I can therefore commend to the readers of *Hindoo* the spinning-wheel and khaddar. I know how severely Sind has proved disappointing, but I know that the time is coming when Sind will also respond.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19652

106. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

July 5, 1926

CHI. MANILAL,

Your letters to hand. I expect there would be no hitch in arranging your marriage when you come here. Certainly nothing can be *finalized* before your arrival. If you must marry, you must restrain your extravagance. Everyone coming from there complains of this.

[1] *Vide* the succeeding item.

I find your explanation inadequate. But you will always be what you are. I do not want to control you. I shall be content with whatever you let me know.

The books you ordered have been despatched. Please remit their cost immediately. The Ashram can grant no credit, because it has no private sources of income. I hope this is quite clear.

I learn now for the first time that Shanti does not satisfy you. I am glad however to learn that Dahyo does.

Please send me the old book of newspaper cuttings maintained by me. There are also a number of books which are of no use there; you had better send them here or bring them with you.

Devdas is quite well. He is enjoying the climate of Mussoorie. Ramdas is in Amreli.

What is one to write about Harilal[1]? Rami[2] is in the Ashram.

You do not seem to have made use of the many articles which Mahadevbhai sent you. Of course, that does not matter. An editor ought to have the right to decide what he will accept and what he will not. But should he not write even a letter of thanks or an acknowledgment?

When you come, be armed with a notice to me: 'Marry me off in fifteen days' time; I must take the next steamer.'

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1118. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi; also G.N. 4705

107. LETTER TO TEHMINA KHAMBHATTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday [July 6, 1926][3]

DEAR SISTER,

Your letter to hand. I was certainly expecting it. Every time I take up Mrs. Eddy's[4] book, I do remember Bhai Khambhatta. I am very glad to learn he is recovering. How can we get tired of a diet or a medicine which proves beneficial to us? I have certainly not forgotten about sending my opinion of Mrs. Eddy's

[1] Gandhiji's oldest son

[2] Daughter of Harilal

[3] From the postmark

[4] Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910), author of *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* (1875)

book. But since there is no urgency about it, I give it only such time as I can spare from my other occupations.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. TEHMINA BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA
275, HORNBY ROAD
FORT
BOMBAY

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 4362. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

108. A MESSAGE[1]

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 7, 1926

The greatest contribution that India can render to the sum of human happiness is to attain her freedom by peaceful and truthful means. Whether such a thing will ever come to pass is more than one can say. Indeed, appearances would contradict any such belief. Nevertheless, my faith in the future of humanity is so great that I cannot but hold any other belief than that India will gain her freedom only through peaceful and truthful means and no other. May all, therefore, who share my belief help India towards that supreme consummation.

From a photostat: S.N. 19656 a

109. LETTER TO NURGIS CAPTAIN[2]

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 7, 1926

I had your long letter. After you were twelve hours away from Aden, your criticism about the young men you saw on board is true though painful. This cow-protection cry on the part of many educated Hindus is a false cry. But, after all, they are but a drop in the ocean of Hindu humanity and against these few beef-eaters, there are millions who would rather die than

[1] It is not known to whom this message was sent.
[2] Grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji

touch beef and its restraint to be treasured, for our upward growth depends upon our self-restraint.

Poor Yeshwantprasad is still suffering. The guinea worms have not left him entirely. He is at Bhavnagar undergoing treatment from his own *hakim*. Jamnabehn is also there. Mira is getting on quite all right. And, now we have the German sister who was expected to come. She too has made herself at home. I am quite well. Devdas is at Mussoorie. You know that he had an operation for appendicitis. He is quite all right now. You must be thoroughly restored before you return.

Mr. Bahadurji's yarn that you sent me for testing was not bad at all. His test gave nearly 50 per cent. 60 per cent is really required for weaving purposes. We are at present concentrating upon increasing the strength of the yarn instead of the speed and the same has reached up to 90 per cent. Probably, at the end of the month someone may reach 100 per cent.

Yours,

NURGISBEHN
GENEVA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19653

110. LETTER TO A. T. GIDWANI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 7, 1926

MY DEAR GIDWANI,

I hope you are going on well in your new surroundings.

You will be interested to know that I wrote to Narayandas the same day that you gave me the information about grapes and asked him to telegraph to me.[1] He telegraphed saying that he was replying my letter. I immediately came to the conclusion that the worst you have told me was true. The promised reply has not yet been received. Meanwhile Hatham sent another telegram stating the whole information will be given to me if I promise not to fast. Poor simple Hatham, as if by his telegram he has not told me all I did know. I gave up the grapes immediately I got the telegram from Narayandas.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19654

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Narandas Anandji", 29-6-1926.

111. LETTER TO V. B. TYAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 7, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your article on '*Sandhya* Prayer'. It is interesting, but not required for the readers of *Young India*. They will not understand it. The prayer that the readers of *Young India* find emphasized is the prayer of the heart.

I return the article. You may need it. I hope you are succeeding with your charkha.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V. B. TYAR
MILITARY ACCOUNTS
MAYMYO
(BURMA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 19655

112. LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 7, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I now understand somewhat better your plans. But tell me wherein you differ from Khadi Pratishthan and Abhoy Ashram in your plans to develop some of the items of constructive programme on your own lines.

The only suggestion I have about malaria is its prevention. There is no certainty about it. But I feel that if a person keeps his body pure and unlogged and takes the ordinary precautions about pure water and pure food, he is not likely to be troubled by malaria.

You ask me to tell you all about my health. There is, however, nothing to tell because it seems to be quite all right for the moment.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19656

113. LETTER TO MISS KATHERINE MAYO

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 7, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your second letter.[1] The notes were duly corrected, amplified and posted to you. I hope you have received them. If they have gone astray, please let me know. I believe that the original is not yet destroyed. If they have not been received by you, let me inform you that they were amplified as they were sent by you. You will therefore kindly wait for the amplified copy if you have not received it already.

Yours sincerely,

MISS KATHERINE MAYO
BEDFORD HILLS
NEW YORK (U. S. A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 10778

114. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKER PATTANI

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
July 7, 1926

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

For a long time I have kept with me a letter from a weaver of the Dhed caste only with a view to sending you an excerpt from it. In your present state of health, I am afraid, I ought not to write this to you, but since you have not relinquished charge of the State's administration, a petition from the poor may reach you. This man writes:[2]

[1] Writing this on May 26, Katherine Mayo had acknowledged Gandhiji's letter of April 9 with enclosures, pointing out that his secretary had overlooked returning her notes of the talk Gandhiji gave her and her friends. She wanted either that they should be returned to her corrected, amplified, etc., or that Gandhiji should confirm that they were correct (S.N. 10754).

[2] Not translated here. The correspondent had complained against the indiscriminate slaughter of animals by a person to whom the Bhavnagar State had granted the monopoly of disposing of dead cattle.

I do not know how dead cattle are disposed of in Bhavnagar. Please get information on this point and do what is proper. Why does not the State itself set up a tannery to handle all the dead cattle? In fact why should not the State also run an ideal dairy and supply pure milk at low price to children?

SIR PRABHASHANKER PATTANI
BHAVNAGAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19657

115. NOTES

SERVANTS OF INDIA FIRE RELIEF

Contributions made in answer to the appeal of the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri total nearly Rs. 50,000. It should be remembered that two lacs at least are wanted to enable the Society to make a fresh start in respect of the interrupted activities. The weekly organ, *The Servant of India*, is being brought out under difficulties. It is to be hoped that the whole amount will be subscribed without delay irrespective of one's politics.

LIMITED SACRIFICE

An ex-principal of a national college, a master of arts, writes:

> Your article on sacrifice[1] is nearly heart-rending. You seem to be expecting more sacrifice from those who are willing and have already done their best, and do not seem to take to task those pretending followers who have the effrontery of exploiting the national movement for their personal benefit. It would be doing greater service to the motherland if you try to get hold of rich people who will swear by you to maintain six good workers each who will take up village organization.

I have singled out the foregoing sentences from a longish letter. In the first instance, there can be no limit to one's sacrifice. A sacrifice that calculates and bargains is hardly a sacrifice. I have asked for no more than what has been given in other parts of the world where people have regained or retained their freedom; nor are instances of such uttermost sacrifice lacking even in our country. That sacrifice comes from deep conviction and it is deep conviction that is just now wanted in the country.

[1] *Vide* "Sacrifice", 24-6-1926.

In the second instance, one does not ask or expect anything from pretended followers. The prevalent law throughout the world seems to be for those who give to give more and more. They do so, not under compulsion, but voluntarily and joyfully. And, at the end of the giving, they regret that they have not more to give.

In the third place, I do not know a single honest, industrious and intelligent worker who is starving for want of work. The difficulty occurs when the worker dictates terms or has requirements which, if he declined to be bound by custom or sentiment, would have no existence whatsoever. After all, it is the few patriotic rich men in the country who are financing several public movements. My own experience is that money enough has always been found wherever a just cause has been discovered to be backed by honest and able workers. Young workers are more and more devoting themselves daily to village work, but ten times as many workers are required. There is no dearth of money or work. But there is dearth of men who are satisfied with a modest salary in keeping with the conditions of the country. To mention only those activities which come under my direct observation and general control, there are khadi work, untouchability, national education, dairy work, tannery, etc.

From the Frying Pan

The draft rules published by the Madras Government about spinning in primary schools show what can happen even under 'responsible' government when the government may afford to ignore public opinion. What response can a government that is, say, dependent upon the votes of zamindars make to their voteless ryots? When, therefore, there is only a caricature of responsible government, things can be much worse than under a frankly and purely autocratic government. The latter, not depending upon the votes of any class, can afford to be impartial to all. The former dare not.

The draft rules are naturally from the Education Minister who is considered to be responsible to the people, i.e., the select electorate. But, having no knowledge evidently of rural conditions, he thinks that instruction in hand-spinning in primary schools is unnecessary. Instead, therefore, of frankly putting a ban upon it, he seeks to circumvent it by ruling that "practical instruction should not be introduced in standards below the fourth without the previous approval of the Director of Public Instruction," that it should "ordinarily have reference to the chief occu-

pations or industries of the locality or the class of pupils," and that "spinning by itself without provision for weaving should not form a subject for such institution". The last condition is enough to keep out spinning from the average primary school, if only because hardly a primary school can afford the expense of a weaving instructor and the floor space required for setting up a loom. Indeed, even the spinning-wheel has by experience been found to be too expensive and too large for the average school. The All-India Spinners' Association is, therefore, advising all schoolmasters and municipal councils to introduce the *takli* which is inexpensive, handy, requires no floor space to keep and does not easily go out of order. It is surprising too that neither the Minister nor his advisers seem to realize that hand-spinning cannot be and must not be put on a level with the other occupations. As Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari points out in his appeal to local bodies in the Madras Presidency, it is pre-eminently a universal national occupation which, having all but died, needs to be revived and popularized. It would be a useless waste of time and money to teach in primary schools living occupations which children can learn much better and much more quickly from their parents than from theoretical and indifferent teachers. I am glad, therefore, that the Chittoor District Education Council has voted against the draft rules and hope that the other bodies will follow suit.

Young India, 8-7-1926

116. 'MORE ANIMAL THAN HUMAN'

A medical correspondent referring to the article 'What is Natural?'[1] in *Young India* of the 24th ultimo writes:

> It is only in the mass that the people's instinct of violence is aroused. It is almost impossible to prevent the use of physical force under such circumstances and I wonder if it is altogether desirable to discourage it. It is positively against man's nature. Man is animal first and human afterwards. Just think of the ancestor of the Australian savage and his times when there was no art, no literature, no science, and when man was a hunter and communicated with his fellows by means of gestures. Our ethical code is a thin veneer and the passions of the brute are still lurking within us. It is not natural to man to find and know God, much less to worship him. In an individual naturally brought up, educated in an unbiassed and non-theological atmosphere, the idea of worshipping

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXX, pp. 571-3.

God will be quite unnatural. Millions of educated adults in the world never enter a church, mosque or temple. God-worship is an acquired habit. The question of virtue and vice has nothing to do with God. Morality arises from the necessities of group life, and it has its sanctions in the social needs of man rather than in a capricious divine will. Man is not made in the image of God; it is God who is made in the image of man. Your moral code would not be debased if you regarded the ape as your remote cousin. Eating, drinking, and sexual gratification are absolutely natural to man. There are limits of course, but they are perfectly physiological and partly conventional. How can you preach this doctrine of complete renunciation of sexual desire? Don't you think that we cannot possibly attain complete renunciation of the desire except through an exhaustive fulfilment of it? You say, 'Man's nature is not *himsa* but ahimsa.' But even your own programme of the boycott of the British goods, if it had been successful, could have resulted in nothing but violence to the British workers. Starving a man is as much violence as hitting him with a lathi. Your soul-force or love-force is a figment of imagination. Ahimsa is the creed of civilization, but is not man's nature.

I have very much condensed the medical practitioner's letter. The confidence with which it is written takes one's breath away. And yet the correspondent, who appears to be a practitioner of long standing and who has an English degree, represents a large number of educated men. I must confess, however, that he does not convince me. Let us examine his arguments. He says that non-violence cannot be attained by the mass of people. And, yet, we find that the general work of mankind is being carried on from day to day by the mass of people acting in harmony as if by instinct. If they were instinctively violent, the world would end in no time. They remain peaceful naturally and without any police or other compulsion. It is when the mass mind is unnaturally influenced by wicked men that the mass of mankind commit violence. But they forget it as quickly as they commit it, because they return to their peaceful nature immediately the evil influence of the directing mind is removed.

Hitherto, one has been taught to believe that a species is recognized and differentiated from the rest by its special characteristics. Therefore, it would be wrong, I presume, to say that a horse is animal first and horse after. He shares something in common with the other animals, but he dare not shed his horseliness and yet remain an animal. Having lost his special virtue, he loses also his general status. Similarly, if a man lost his status as man and began to grow a tail and walk on all fours, lost the use of his hands, and,

more than that, lost the use of his reason, would he not lose with the loss of his status as man his status also as animal? Neither the ox nor the ass, neither the sheep nor the goat will claim him as theirs. I would suggest to the medical friend that man can be classed as animal only so long as he retains his humanity.

Neither is there any force in referring me to the Australian savage. Even that Australian savage was fundamentally different from the brute, because the brute always will remain brute, whereas the savage has in him the capacity for developing to the fullest height attainable by man. We need not go to the Australian savage. Our Indian ancestors also were at one time, it will hardly be disputed, just as good and noble savages as the Australians. I entirely endorse the remark of the correspondent that even in our so-called civilized state, we are not far removed from savages. But he is willing to allow that at least we, the civilized descendants of our savage ancestors, may be differentiated from the brute creation. It is natural for the brute to be brutal. We would resent the adjective if it was applied to us.

The correspondent apologizes for suggesting that I might regard myself as a 'remote cousin of the ape'. The truth is that my ethics not only permit me to claim but require me to own kinship with not merely the ape but the horse and the sheep, the lion and the leopard, the snake and the scorpion. Not so need these kinsfolk regard themselves. The hard ethics which rule my life, and I hold ought to rule that of every man and woman, impose this unilateral obligation upon us. And it is so imposed because man alone is made in the image of God. That some of us do not recognize that status of ours makes no difference, except that then we do not get the benefit of the status, even as a lion brought up in the company of sheep, may not know his own status and, therefore, does not receive its benefits; but it belongs to him, nevertheless, and the moment he realizes it, he begins to exercise his dominion over the sheep. But no sheep masquerading as a lion can ever attain the leonine status. And, to prove the proposition that man is made in the image of God, it is surely unnecessary to show that all men admittedly exhibit that image in their own persons. It is enough to show that one man at least has done so. And, will it be denied that the great religious teachers of mankind have exhibited the image of God in their own persons?

But, of course, my correspondent even contends that it is not natural to man to find and know God and, therefore, he says 'man makes God in his own image'. All I can say is that the whole of the evidence hitherto produced by travellers controvert this as-

tounding proposition. It is being more and more demonstrated that it is the worship of God, be it in the crudest manner possible, which distinguishes man from the brute. It is the possession of that additional quality which gives him such enormous hold upon God's creation. It is wholly irrelevant to show that millions of educated people never enter a church, mosque or temple. Such entry is neither natural nor indispensable for the worship of God. Those even who bow their heads before stocks and stones, who believe in incantations or ghosts, acknowledge a power above and beyond them. It is true that this form of worship is savage, very crude; nevertheless, it is worship of God. Gold is still gold though in its crudest state. It merely awaits refinement to be treated as gold even by the ignorant. No amount of refinement will turn iron ore into gold. Refined worship is doubtless due to the effort of man. Crude worship is as old as Adam, and, as natural to him as eating and drinking, if not more natural. A man may live without eating for days on end, he does not live without worship for a single minute. He may not acknowledge the fact as many an ignorant man may not acknowledge the possession of lungs or the fact of the circulation of blood.

The correspondent puts sexual gratification on a level with eating and drinking. If he had read my article carefully he would have avoided the confusion of thought that one traces in the thing quoted by him. What I have said and repeat is that eating for pleasure, for the gratification of the palate, is not natural to man. But eating to live is natural. And so is the sexual act, but not gratification, for the sake of perpetuation of the species, natural to man.

I fear I shall preach to the end of my days complete renunciation of sexual desire. And this correspondent is the first medical man to tell me that such renunciation is not possible except through 'our exhaustive fulfilment of the sexual desire'. On the contrary, medical authorities tell me that 'an exhaustive fulfilment' leads not to renunciation, but to ruinous imbecility. Complete renunciation of the desire no doubt requires an effort, but is it not worth the prize? If a lifetime may be devoted to the exploration of the properties of sound or light and heat, which after all only show us the phenomenal world to advantage, is it too much to expect an equal effort to attain complete renunciation which leads to self-realization, or, in other words, to a certain knowledge of God?

And one who is fairly on the road to renunciation will not need to be told that ahimsa (love), not *himsa* (hate), rules man, I was almost about to say, the world. Illustrations that the cor-

respondent gives to prove my own *himsa* betrays his ignorance of my writings. The ignorance, of course, does not matter, because, no one need read *Young India*. But ignorance of a man's views is unpardonable when one ventures to criticize them. I have advocated boycott only of *foreign cloth* and there is no violence done to the British workers who may be thrown out of employment because of the boycott of cloth manufactured by them, for the simple reason that purchase of foreign cloth is not an obligation undertaken by India. Violence is all the other way. It is done to India in the name and on behalf of British workers by imposing British cloth upon India. A drunkard does no violence to the owner of a drink-shop when he becomes a teetotaller. He serves both the publican and himself. And so will India serve both the foreigners and herself, when she ceases to buy foreign cloth. Foreign workmen will not starve, but will find better employment. And if they will voluntarily give up manufacturing cloth for India, they will have taken part in a great humanitarian movement.

Young India, 8-7-1926

117. 'TOWARDS MORAL BANKRUPTCY'–II

"In the wake of abortion," says M. Bureau, "come infanticide, incest, and crimes that outrage nature. There is nothing special to say about the first, except that the crime has become more frequent in spite of all the facilities offered to unmarried mothers and of the extension of anti-conceptionist practices and abortion. It no longer arouses the same reprobation among so-called 'respectable' people, and juries usually return a verdict of 'not guilty'."

M. Bureau devotes a full section to the growth of pornographic literature. He defines it

as the exploitation, with an erotic or obscene intention, of the resources which literature, the drama, and pictures place at men's disposal for their mental refreshment and repose.

And he adds:

In every branch of its business it has secured markets, the extent of which may be gauged by the ingenuity and excellent commercial organization of the directors, the enormous amount of capital, the unexampled perfection of the methods employed. . . . The impression experienced has been so strong and so unique that the whole psychological life of the individual is affected by it,

and

a sort of secondary sexual life, which exists wholly in the imagination, is created.

M. Bureau then quotes this pathetic paragraph from M. Ruyssen:

> All pornographic and sadistic literature secures in this psychological law the most powerful enticement which it exerts over an innumerable number of readers, and the flourishing circulation of this literature shows beyond dispute that those who live a secondary sexual life through their imagination are legion, not to mention those in lunatic asylums—especially in a period like our own, when the abuse of newspapers and books creates around all consciences what W. James calls 'a plurality of under-universe', in which each can lose himself, and forget along with himself the duties of the present hour.

These disastrous consequences, it should never be forgotten, are a direct result of one single fundamental error, namely, that sexual indulgence for its own sake is a human necessity and that without it neither man nor woman reaches their full growth. Immediately a person becomes possessed of such an idea and begins to look upon what in his estimation was one time a vice as a virtue, there is no end to the multiplication of devices that would excite animal passions and help him to indulge in them.

M. Bureau then gives chapter and verse to show how the daily press, the magazine, the pamphlet, the novel, the photograph and the theatre increasingly pander to and provide for this debasing taste.

But the reference hitherto has been to the decay of morals amongst unmarried people. M. Bureau next proceeds to show the measure of moral indiscipline in the married state. He says:

> Among the aristocracy, the middle class, and the peasants, vanity and avarice are responsible for a vast number of marriages. . . . Marriage is entered upon also to obtain an advantageous post, to join two properties, especially two landed estates, to regularize a former connection or to legitimatize a natural child; to provide unfailing and devoted attentions for a man's rheumatics and old age, to be able to choose the place of his garrison at the time of conscription,

also

> to put an end to a life of vice, of which they are beginning to weary and to substitute another form of sexual life.

M. Bureau then cites facts and figures to show that these marriages, instead of reducing licentiousness, actually promote it. This degradation has been immensely helped by the so-called scientific

or mechanical inventions designed to restrict the effect of the sexual act without interfering with the act itself. I must pass by the painful paragraphs regarding the increase in adultery and startling figures regarding judicial separations and divorces which, during the last twenty years, have more than doubled themselves. I can also make only a passing reference to the extension of unrestricted freedom for indulgence to the female sex on the principle of 'the same moral standard for the two sexes'. The perfection of the anti-conceptional practices and the methods of bringing about abortion have led to the emancipation of either sex from all moral restraint. No wonder marriage itself is laughed at. Here is a passage M. Bureau quotes from a popular author:

> Marriage is always according to my judgment one of the most barbarous institutions ever imagined. I have no doubt that it will be abolished if the human race makes any progress towards justice and reason. . . . But men are too gross and women too cowardly to demand a nobler law than that which rules them.

The results of the practices referred to by M. Bureau and of the theories by which the practices are justified are minutely examined. He explains:

> We are, then, being carried away by the movement of moral indiscipline towards new destinies. What are they? Is the future that opens before us one of progress and light, of beauty and growing spirituality, or of retrogression and darkness, of deformity and animalism that is ever demanding more? Is the indiscipline which has been established one of those fruitful revolts against antiquated rules, one of those beneficent rebellions which posterity remembers with gratitude because they were, at certain epochs, the necessary preliminary to its progress and its rise, or is it not rather the old Adam which rises up within us against the rules whose very strictness is indispensable if we are to withstand the thrust of its bestial appeal? Are we face to face with an evil revolt against the discipline of safety and life?

Then M. Bureau cites overwhelming testimony to show that hitherto the results have been disastrous in every respect. They threaten life itself.

Young India, 8-7-1926

118. LETTER TO P. R. LELE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 8, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] I understand all you say, appreciate it too, but, you cannot realize my helplessness. Just for the present moment, I am not despondent. I feel certain that things will be better, but, at the present moment, the fury, I fear, must be allowed to spend itself. Anyway, the remedies that I have for the disease are useless for the time being. I know that evil-doers are having full scope and that the poison is saturating even young minds. It all seems inevitable. Of course, do not think that because I do not write or speak, I am doing nothing.

I hope Delhi agrees both with you and Mrs. Lele. I am glad you wrote to me.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. PURUSHOTTAM RAMCHANDRA LELE
3008, BURN BASTION ROAD
DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11076

119. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 8, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Enclosed[2] is from Mr. Ambalal sent to me in reply to my letter[3]. Jamnalalji told me that he sent you all it was possible for

[1] In this Lele had described how a few Hindus abused some Muslim boys for teasing a bull. He believed that Hindus had no right to demand the stoppage of cow-slaughter and that their agitation had to be checked.

[2] This is presumably the cheque which Ambalal Sarabhai sent on June 27, in response to Gandhiji's appeal for a contribution to the Servants of India Society Relief Fund (S.N. 10953). *Vide* "Letter to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri", 16-6-1926.

[3] This is not available.

him to send. I have heard nothing yet from Mr. Birla. I notice subscriptions are coming in slowly.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. One letter and one cheque for Rs. 200/-

From a microfilm: S.N. 19658

120. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 8, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

Your letter makes me sad. I do hope that these troubles that face you just now will soon be over, that Guruji will soon be himself again and that your father will regain his strength. But I quite recognize that you must be for the time being by the side of those who are ailing.

I want you not to go into the question of the propriety of asking for financial assistance. After all I am disbursing trust funds. And, I have not made them without careful thought. I shall be able to defend before God and man the assistance that I might be able to send you. You must not therefore hesitate to tell me what you need. Guruji will, I know, support me in this thing.

I would certainly suggest his going to Calcutta if Calcutta climate suits him better. After all he can find his peace even in Calcutta if he must be there for the sake of his health. It would be otherwise, perhaps, if he was not a Calcutta man and had not passed years there. But, he knows best where he should be. There is no place I know yet where only dead-cattle-hide shoes can be guaranteed. Ours will be the first workshop of the kind when it is opened. I am trying to expedite it, but I am so helpless for want of experts.

The German sister who wrote 18 months ago is now here and almost acclimatized. She is very simple and good-hearted. She makes friends with everybody. Mr. Stanley Jones[1] is also here passing a week. Thus the Ashram is fairly full. There are some other new men also whom you do not know.

[1] E. Stanley Jones, American missionary, author of *The Christ of the Indian Road*, etc.

Yes, Tulsi Maher is doing wonderfully good work.

Yours,

From a photostat of a copy: S.N. 19659

121. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKER PATTANI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Thursday, July 8, 1926

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter. I wanted you to shake off your burden of administration for a few days. If that happens, I believe your health will improve speedily. Now we can say there has been some rain here. The sky continues overcast. Hence as you have stirred out already, I see no difficulty in your coming over here. Moreover, there can be no great difference between the climate of Dhrangadhra and that of Ahmedabad. Therefore, do come if you can. I shall then be able to know something at any rate about your health. And if you permit me to do some simple experiments, we may try such changes of diet as would suit you. And I hope you will not bring with you any petitioner here. But I will lay down no conditions for your coming here. Come here then on your own terms. But please do come.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5888

122. LETTER TO LALCHAND JAYCHAND VORA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
[*July 8, 1926*][1]

BHAI LALCHAND,

Your letter. At this crucial stage in khadi [work] I cannot advise unattached persons to run a risk and maintain themselves on khadi bhandars alone. They should join the stores run by

[1] From the postmark

the Charkha Sangh or some other public organization. Many khadi lovers are doing this today.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

LALCHAND JAYCHAND VORA
SAURASHTRA KHADI BHANDAR
49, EZRA STREET
CALCUTTA

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 7752. Courtesy: L. J. Vora

123. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Thursday, July 8, 1926

CHI. MOTI,

Your letter to hand. I try to derive at least some consolation from the fact that you confess your indolence. Two things are essential for health—regular sleep and only such food and as much of it as you can digest. There ought to be regular evacuation. I learn that without this the Italian pill is ineffective. For if the bowel movement is regular what does it matter if one takes the pill or not? But it is good to take it. There should be as much physical exercise as the body can stand. Do you still read as you used to?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12130

124. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

THE ASHRAM,
July 8, 1926

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I have your short and succinct but frightening letter. But I have already made it clear to you that I would not care for such a letter. You know that I was getting ready to relieve you at the time you sent me your last ultimatum. Now I do not at all propose to do so. One who takes up a responsibility should sacrifice even his life for it. That is the way for individuals and even nations to rise. Pampering spoils them both. On what considerations have you just engaged that new man Jethalal? How many of your resolves should I remind you of? How long should I treat you as a child? I want no more letters like the one I am replying to. You must stick where you are until I myself transfer you. We cannot have in this world all that we wish for. But we must put up with the circumstances in which we find ourselves. In a way none of us deserves his position but from another point of view, it can be said that those who devote themselves to their jobs come to deserve their positions. Only they are worthless who though knowing their duty do not wish to fulfil it and deliberately spoil the work allotted to them. Surely you are not one of them. Then what is the sense in constantly pointing your pistol at me? Therefore there is only one order for you: stay put where you are, suffer any amount of privation and stick to your duty.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19927

125. LETTER TO MRS. R. ARMSTRONG AND MRS. P. R. HOWARD

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 9, 1926

DEAR FRIEND[S],

I have your letter.[1] Truth is not so simple as it appears to you. You know the story of the elephant and seven blind men who actually touched him. They all touched him at different parts. Their descriptions therefore differed from one another. They were all true from their own points of view and yet each appeared to be untrue from the points of view of the rest. The truth was beyond all the seven.' We are all, you will perhaps agree, in the position of these seven sincere observers. And we are blind as they are blind. We must therefore be content with believing the truth as it appears to us. The authenticity and the interpretation of the Biblical record is a thing you will not want me to discuss.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. ROBT. ARMSTRONG
MRS. PAUL R. HOWARD
2293 E PROSPECT 5
KEWANEE, ILLINOIS
U. S. A.

From a photostat: S.N. 10779

[1] In a letter of February 20, 1926, Mrs. Armstrong and Mrs. Howard had written: "Since we believe that you consider truthfulness as a necessary characteristic of a good man, we wish to call your attention to the fact that Christ said 'I and my Father are one' (*John*, 10: 30) and He told the Samaritan woman at the well that He was the looked-for Messiah (*John*, 4: 25,26). So it seems to us that unless you want an untruthful person for an example, you must either accept Him for what He claimed to be or throw Him out entirely as an untruthful impostor." They stated that they were praying daily asking God to reveal Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the World, to him until they read in the papers or heard from him that he had found "Him who is life eternal" (S.N. 10743).

126. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 9, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Though you have asked me not to write to you if I could not endorse your suggestion about the temple, I cannot help writing a line to tell you that I have discussed it with nobody.[1] Anasuyabai is like a member of the family. She comes and consults me about everything. She did mention the thing and I discussed it with her. But, you may not know that she herself can give nothing even if she wishes to. And she never interferes with her brother's dispositions.

About Mr. Muggeridge, I think I have written to you saying that he will be welcome whenever he comes.[2] I had a note from him also regarding a lecture[3] delivered by him at the Christian College, Alwaye.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR
FAIRY FALLS VIEW
KODAIKANAL OBSERVATORY P. O.

From a photostat: S.N. 10959

[1] Vijayaraghavachariar had complained, in his letter of July 8, (S.N. 10955), of Gandhiji's failure to bless his efforts to construct a temple for the villagers and to ask some of his "capable and willing supporters" to help the cause.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to C. Vijayaraghavachariar", 27-6-1926.

[3] The text of this, entitled "Nationalism and Christianity", was published in *Young India*, 22-7-1926.

127. A LETTER

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 9, 1926

DEAR FRIEND[1],

I have your letter. You have my full sympathy. If the facts are as you mention, it is certainly sad. Your proposal to go to Germany to finish your studies, I am afraid, I cannot endorse apart from the fact that I can give you any pecuniary assistance. Students who have non-co-operated need not think only of the medical professions or those things which are generally learnt in the colleges. If they have acquired the real spirit of independence and self-reliance, they would learn many things which are to be learnt from our own countrymen and outside schools and colleges; in other words, we must learn to work with our own hands and feet. We can learn this in our own country from our own artisans and outside schools and colleges.

So far as veterinary education is concerned, we must be satisfied with what we can get at the present moment from national institutions.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19660

128. LETTER TO PYARELAL NAYYAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday, July 9, 1926

CHI. PYARELAL,

I always intend to write to you but fail to do so. Of course, you would never assume that my not writing is due to indifference. Mathuradas gives you an excellent certificate. But the real certificate must come from me. And you will get my certificate only when Mathuradas grows as strong as a horse and

[1] The addressee's identity is not known; but it is likely that he was the 'student in a national college' Gandhiji mentions in "Students and Non-co-operation", 15-7-1926.

your health improves so that when you return here I have no worry on your account. Just as you had undertaken to translate from Gujarati into English, now you should do so from English and Gujarati into Hindi and send it to me; for the present, only for me to see it.

How much do you walk about there? Compare the markets at Deolali and Panchgani. Likewise, compare the people of Panchgani and Deolali. There are four or five high schools in Panchgani. Visit all of them and learn something from them. Also study the present circumstances of the Gujarati high school recently started there. You must be getting news of the people coming here. The German lady is very courteous and good-natured. Krishnadas is happy at present. Satis Babu and his father are quite ill. They remain moody and hence we have to consider whether they should stay where they are, i.e., in Chandpur, or go to Darbhanga. Write to Krishnadas. His address is: C/o S. C. Guha, Darbhanga.

I have received an essay from you which I have not yet been able to go through.

From a photostat of a copy of the Gujarati: S.N. 12196

129. *LETTER TO KANTILAL*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday, July 9, 1926

BHAI KANTILAL,

Your three letters to hand. From the last one I see you have had heavy rains there. The first showers here were quite heavy and we had even two floods.

About your conflicting loyalties I would say that you should endure the pain that your mother is experiencing, regarding it as unavoidable. It is my experience that in the face of their parents' opposition to any good venture if the children remain as firm as they are humble, their parents give up their opposition. Their opposition as well as their unhappiness increases only when the children waver and the parents hope they will succumb to parental love. Hence if you have not the least doubt about your step and if you are equally confident about your capacity, you should tell your mother of your decision and shake off all anxiety. Ask me anything further if you have to.

Personally, I do not at all believe khadi will benefit by the publication of its statistics, etc. Nor do I believe that the economy effected at Gariadhar can be practised everywhere. But the work at Gariadhar certainly deserves notice. I noticed two specialities at Gariadhar. One, that all who spin, weave and card are under Shambhushanker's personal supervision. Two, that he himself knows these artisans and those who work along with them and has won their love. He is able to get much of his work done directly. Not everyone can accomplish all this. Others should learn as much from this as they can. It is enough if no cause is provided for the criticism of the Amreli centre. I believe it is easy to meet criticism actuated either by ignorance or prejudice. I know it well and I quite appreciate that the present sale of khadi is due to Abbas Saheb's presence. Once people begin to buy khadi as a matter of duty, it will not take time to spread. It is enough for the present if we diligently and by every possible effort increase the production of khadi and also improve its quality. A sense of duty can be born only out of this.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19661

130. LETTER TO NANABHAI BHATT

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday, July 9, 1926

BHAISHRI NANABHAI,

I enclose herewith a list of books which are to be translated. Bhai Munikumar may choose whatever book he likes. I have forgotten the rate of payment. We should have a uniform rate. He should deliver the translation to us within the stipulated period. All the rights must be ours. You do know that Kaka is the editor of this series; payment will, therefore, be made after his approval. Please let me know if you consider any changes desirable in these terms. Also let me know if any additions are to be made to them. You should obtain the consent of Shankerlal and Kaka before finally making any agreement, because I have not gone into all details and there is every possibility of my committing an error.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19662

131. MESSAGE TO THE "NAYAK"

[On or before *July 10, 1926*]

Those wishing to revere Deshbandhu's memory cannot do better than popularize charkha and khadi, and thus secure the boycott of foreign cloth.[1]

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-7-1926

132. LETTER TO V. R. KOTHARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 10, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[2]. I appreciate what you say. I enclose herewith a cheque upon Jamnalalji for Rs. 2,500/-. You will please let me have the promised letter in due course.[3]

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1 Hundi
SJT. V. R. KOTHARI
SHUKRAWAR PETH
POONA CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 11129

[1] According to a Free Press report, published in *The Bombay Chronicle*, this message was sent to the *Nayak*, a Bengali paper, for its Deshbandhu Number which was published on July 11, 1926.

[2] Of July 5 (S.N. 11128). In it the addressee had explained that, on the basis of the earlier grant of Rs. 5,000, he had hoped to receive an equal amount again and incurred expenditure which he was finding it difficult to meet. He proposed now to ask for only Rs. 2,500 and would raise the rest himself. He offered to send a letter of assurance not to collect more funds for capital expenditure from his trustees (S.N. 11128-M).

[3] Kothari sent this letter of assurance on August 6 as directed by Harold H. Mann, one of the trustees (S.N. 11132-4).

193. LETTER TO A. A. PAUL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 10, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter about the proposed China visit.[1] So far as it is humanly possible, I shall certainly visit China next year if I am really wanted there, that is, if a satisfactory invitation comes. But, with my varied activities, one can never say with certainty of things that are to happen twelve months hence. That is the only reason for my cautious reply. Circumstances beyond my control may make it impossible to leave India.

If they want me this year, now that I have not gone to Finland,[2] it is easier to be more definite. But, then, this year can only be a hurried visit. I must return in time for the Congress. I would therefore advise our Chinese friends to take the little risk of

[1] On February 24, 1926, A. A. Paul had written to Gandhiji inviting him, on behalf of the Student Christian Association of India, Burma and Ceylon, to visit China (S.N. 11362). On March 3, Gandhiji replied (S.N. 11363). To a further letter from Paul on March 9 (S.N. 11364), Gandhiji replied on March 15 (S.N. 11365). Paul had acknowledged Gandhiji's letter on March 26 (S.N. 11366). On May 4, he had forwarded to Gandhiji copies of two letters which T. Z. Koo, a Chinese intellectual, had written to Paul explaining the aim, scope, etc., of Gandhiji's proposed visit to China (S.N. 11367-9). On May 9, Gandhiji wrote to Paul tentatively accepting the invitation (S.N. 11370). On May 30, he replied to Paul's further letter of May 24 (S.N. 11371), conveying more Chinese suggestions regarding the visit (S.N. 11372). *Vide* Vol. XXX.

Paul wrote again on July 6 (S.N. 11374), forwarding the copy of a letter from Koo dated June 4 (S.N. 11373) and observing: "I wish it were possible for you to give them a more certain answer about the possibility of your visit in 1927" (S.N. 11374).

[2] This was in connection with a World Conference of Young Men's Christian Associations at Helsingfors, which Gandhiji had finally declined to attend; *vide* Vol. XXX.

my inability to go next year and not think of this year. But they are the best judges.

Yours sincerely,

A. A. PAUL, ESQ.
SOAIBAG
KILPAUK
MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 11375

134. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 10, 1926

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

Mr. Bharucha was here a few days ago and we talked about you. To my surprise, he told me that you somehow or other had felt that you did not count with me and that I was always cool towards you. He gave me his permission to mention this matter to you. I cannot recall a single instance when I have either been cool or unmindful of you or your work. On the contrary, ever since I had the pleasure of knowing you, I have valued your great ability, integrity, your patriotism and your gentlemanliness. Our differences of opinion have made not the slightest difference in the estimation in which I have held you. Please, therefore, disabuse your mind of any such feeling that Mr. Bharucha reports you to have expressed to him. I wanted to write this letter immediately after Mr. Bharucha left, but my numerous preoccupations have prevented me from doing so.

I hope that you are keeping well. If what the newspapers report of you about the offer of judgeship to you and your refusal is true, it is only what I. . . .[1]

From a photostat: S.N. 19669

[1] As in the source

135. LETTER TO GOPALDAS MAKANDAS

THE ASHRAM,
July 10, 1926

Your letter to hand. I for one feel that the idol should be installed at some other place. Excuse me for the delay in replying to you.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10914

136. HOW SHOULD SPINNING BE DONE?

A gentleman has sent yarn which is untidy, badly spun, badly rolled. He has not measured its length and he writes:

> As you want many voluntary spinners for the Spinners' Association, I too wish to spin. Kindly let me know the length of the yarn I am sending; if it is too little, I will make up the deficiency. Slivers are not easy to get here; could you send me some?

Suppose we did not make our own chapatis in the country but ate delicate, beautifully shaped and coloured, artistically made chapatis imported from Japan. Suppose, further, that someone with a little foresight saw in this practice the ruin of the country and, since we had forgotten how to prepare and bake chapatis, he suggested a chapati-*yajna* and appealed to all to send their contribution towards it. If, now, some patriot, bursting with enthusiasm, obtained a roll of dough from someone and sent me triangular, half-done, half-burnt chapatis soiled in transit, together with a note which read: "In response to your appeal for chapati-*yajna* I, too, have decided to contribute to it. I am sending a few today; please count them and let me know if they are too few, so that I may send more. Rolls of dough are not easy to get here; could you send me some?" If anyone wishing to join the chapati-*yajna* wrote to me to this effect, those who knew anything about making chapatis would all laugh at him and say that the gentleman no doubt loved India but did not know how to show his love in action. Everyone, I am sure, can see the point of what I say about chapati-*yajna*, but all will not

immediately see that the gentleman who sent his contribution towards the spinning-*yajna* has acted exactly as our imaginary volunteer for chapati-*yajna*. This is a sign of want of thought resulting from a mental habit of long standing. We have forgotten all about the spinning-wheel, so that, while we all see that, if we forget the art of making chapatis, we would starve, we do not see as readily that we are starving today because we have given up the spinning-wheel.

That is the truth. Spinning does not mean drawing out bits of yarn of any sort as if we were merely playing at spinning. Spinning, in fact, means learning all the preliminary processes—sitting down properly, with a mind completely at rest, and spinning daily for a fixed number of hours good, uniform and well-twisted yarn, spraying it, measuring its length and taking its weight, rolling it neatly, and, if it is to be sent out to some other place, packing it carefully and sticking a label on it with details of the variety of cotton used, the count, the length and weight of the yarn, and tying a tag on it with particulars of the contributor's name and address in clear handwriting; when all this is done, one will have completed the spinning-*yajna* for the day. Two essential processes, ginning and carding, precede spinning. In the analogy between spinning-*yajna* and chapati-*yajna*, ginning corresponds to milling the wheat—and one may not mind where this is rare—and carding to kneading the flour and making rolls. Just as we may not have rolls made from dough at any place we choose but should make them on the spot where the chapatis are being prepared, so carding also should be done at the place where the spinning is done. The only latitude which may be permitted is that in a family one person makes the dough and the rolls, while others make and bake the chapatis. If they go beyond this, the chapatis would be spoiled and the chapati-*yajna* ruined. Similarly, carding may be done, for the sake of convenience, by one person at the same place where others are doing spinning. If they go beyond this, the yarn would be spoiled and the spinning-*yajna*, too, would be ruined. Carding is a very easy process, and the carding-bow can be easily made and is available too. At any place where bamboo is easily available, a carding-bow for use at home can be made in no time. However one for whom the spinning-*yajna* has not become a passion may buy a bow for one's use, but every spinner must learn carding. Carding, I need not add, includes the making of slivers from the cotton carded. Such cotton corresponds to the dough and the slivers to rolls. All others whose attitude to spinning has been like that of the correspondent

above will, I trust, understand henceforth what spinning means.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-7-1926

137. A LETTER[1]

July 11, 1926

I have your letter and the newspaper cuttings for which I thank you. You have certainly reversed the ordinary order. People first do some good work and then do some good writing. You evidently propose to qualify as a good writer and then a good worker. The experiment would be interesting.

M. K. G.

From a copy: S.N. 19930

138. LETTER TO D. B. KHOJA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 11, 1926

BHAISHRI DHARAMSHI BHANJI,

It is only today[2] I am able to answer your tenacious questions. It is not right, I think, to discuss so many questions in *Navajivan*. I am quite pleased with your questions. I now answer them one by one.

One who is ready to immolate himself for the sake of truth should not bother about protecting his body, but he should do so to the extent necessary for the purpose of realizing truth. I do not think it wrong to take the weight of the body, and so on, with a view to studying the physical effects of a fast undertaken for a moral purpose. But it is possible that in so doing one may succumb to temptation. God alone knows whether I have ever fallen a prey to temptation. My renunciation of activities is only in the interest of health. If it is incorrect to call it renunciation of activities where a person has limited his activities to a certain field, let us call it limitation of sphere. This limitation is not based

[1] The identity of the addressee, who was in Ceylon, is not known.

[2] Gandhiji had received from the addressee a letter dated May 21, 1926.

on moral considerations; hence there is no room for any illusion either gross or subtle.

We cannot know the outcome of many things, and yet we experiment with them; so too with diet. Even from the point of view of abstention there is full scope for discrimination in regard to diet.

My service to India includes service to all creatures, because mine is a non-violent service. One who serves another selflessly and without any attachment serves all.

It is not for me to permit anyone to fight. I would only show to those who want to fight what, I think, their duty is. I agree, one gets results according to one's *prarabdha*[1] but as we cannot peep into the future, let us put forth our best efforts regardless of results. When the rule of the just prevails, it would be my duty to earn my living and be a burden to none. I know of no religion which cannot be put into practice.

Instead of modifying dharma to suit the ways of the world, why not change these to conform to dharma? All practices that are contrary to dharma deserve to be abjured. What I regard as the truth is not dependent on its acceptance as such by the world. That alone I believe [as truth] which I have experienced myself. A Shastra which condones *adharma* while upholding dharma is to that extent unworthy of honour.

I believe some rare persons can know the nature of the universe and of its Ruler; but none can describe it. That being so, I think, theological differences will persist.

If a man who has many wives frees himself of passions, etc., and regards them all as his mothers or sisters, he can certainly qualify himself for *moksha*.

The passion that dwells in the senses is contrary to human nature and should therefore be abandoned. Man and woman are both born free. Hence when one is overwhelmed by passion and loses oneself, what else shall we call it if not going astray? If a man and his wife cannot get on after marriage, is that reason enough for a divorce? The bond between father and son does not come to an end on account of disagreement; I regard the bond between husband and wife as similar. If they cannot see eye to eye, they may well have recourse to non-co-operation. But once the marital bond has been established, it can never be dharma to act contrary to it. That a man may indulge in sex pleasures with one woman and none other and that too for the sake of pro-

[1] Fruits of accumulated deeds of previous births

geny and similarly a woman with one man is, I believe, the farthest limit that he or she can have.

Time goes on doing its work. Our manliness lies in foreseeing its changes and putting in the right efforts.

It is quite possible that those whom we regard as having attained *moksha* might not in fact have attained it. But those who have really attained *moksha* are a manifestation of God Himself, because they cannot be thought of as apart from Him. I am not able to understand your next question. I am against *purdah* for women because it shows man's meanness and his oppression of the weaker sex. It is quite possible that the steps I take or advocate may in future prove disastrous instead of being beneficial. Of course my own conviction is that each and every step of mine will turn out to be beneficial in the end. If I do not have this faith I shall be doing offence to my truth and I should as well end my life. For, even if I may choose to be quiet I would still go on seeing visions of many worlds. In prophet Mohammed's life, we come across many acts of kindness. I do not know if Lord Mahavir has laid down two distinct standards—one for dharma and the other for worldly life. So far as I understand Jainism, I think it has no such compartments. Passages which are apparently suggestive of different standards can be interpreted to agree with what I say; for example, the *Mahavrat*[1] and *Anuvrat*[2]. Religion exhorts us all clearly to follow only the *Mahavrat*; but if we cannot do it, we should at least follow the *Anuvrat* instead of resigning ourselves to a life of sin.

A gun manufacturer is certainly responsible for the destruction caused by the guns he makes. The object of a man's life is said to be realization of the self. A convention which runs counter to human nature certainly deserves to be broken. Even otherwise it is bound to go. If an infant tries to hold a fire-brand, its parents and the world have a right to check it. Nobody has any further right.

Since God has not endowed man with the power of creating even a single life, how at all can he have the right to inflict capital punishment? I have remained absolutely free from the habit of masturbation. Even today I am not able to understand it. I shudder at the thought of it. I have no doubt whatever that a man who practises it would become weak in body and mind. I

[1] Literally, major vows in Jainism, ahimsa, *satya*, *asteya*, *brahmacharya*, *aparigraha*, practised by ascetics

[2] Literally, minor vows in Jainism, those practised by householders

know of many such cases. The remedy for it is that those who wish to reform themselves should shun solitude and as far as possible keep both their hands as well as their body busy. They should take *sattvika*[1] food, which is easy to digest, go for walks in the open air and repeat *Ramanama.*

Marriage is no remedy for bad habits. A child of five, seven or ten years contracts a bad habit; is it due to want of the married state? Wherever I go, I see immeasurable unhappiness caused by child-marriages. I have known no benefit flowing from child-marriages.

I return your questions as they would help you understand my answers.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19833

139. LETTER TO NAUTAMLAL M. KHANDERIA

THE ASHRAM,
July 11, 1926

Your letter.[2] If you find the Gujarati [original] interesting enough, take it from me that Mahadev's English rendering is highly spoken of by many who know English well. Hence I see no need to make any change.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10941

[1] Pure and wholesome

[2] The addressee had suggested in his letter of June 18, 1926 that the English rendering of Gandhiji's autobiography which was being serially published in *Young India* had better be done by Valji Govindji Desai.

140. LETTER TO AMBALAL SARABHAI

THE ASHRAM,
July 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your long letter. I read the whole of it with care. I am glad that you wrote it. I liked it very much, since you have poured out your heart in it. I take it, moreover, as a sign of friendship that you took all this trouble to arrange your ideas and put them compactly before me. I, therefore, welcome your letter from every point of view. I am replying in Gujarati, since I shall never have the courage to write to a Gujarati in English, and I am dictating the letter since otherwise you would find difficulty in reading my handwriting and I would be going against doctors' advice that I should do as little writing as possible with my hand. Please rest assured that the views I had formed about you long ago remain unaltered. You have not changed; if anyone, I have changed, though I think I too have not. How could all that was in me come out at one time, without the circumstances to draw it out? Circumstances made me a non-co-operator. To others, that may appear as a change in me. But so far as I am concerned, I was being true to myself and, therefore, my non-co-operation was but a manifestation of my real self in relation to particular circumstances. One may see me bare-bodied in summer and wrapped up in clothes in winter and might think that I had changed. The truth is that I have not changed at all. I merely responded in the appropriate manner to changed circumstances. However, no matter what differences of opinion arise between us, I shall always feel the attraction of your virtues which first drew me towards you.

From some of my actions you have reached the conclusion that I would use any means to gain my end. It is absolutely against my nature to act in that manner. I have stated time and again, and proved through my actions, that I believe means and ends to be intimately inter-connected. That is, a good end can never be achieved through bad means. I had given the most careful thought to the problem of the Khilafat before making the cause my own. If I had not believed in its justice, I would never have lent my support to the Muslims. This of course does not mean that it was, or is, necessary for me, for the sake of my

dharma, to support the Khilafat movement, but I certainly held, and I still hold, that the Muslim claim was just from their own point of view and that, from the standpoint of morality, there was nothing objectionable in it. I, therefore, believed it to be the moral duty of every Hindu to stand by them in their suffering. I still cling to these views and do not repent having helped the Muslims in their fight for the Khilafat. Nor do I believe that Hindus have suffered by having helped them. I think in the same way about non-co-operation. It is a great principle. We do not yet understand its full significance. If, however, we are ever to see an era of peace, it will be through non-violent non-co-operation. I have not relaxed my non-co-operation in any particular. Even during the days of the non-co-operation movement, I used to meet the Governor, as I did this time[1]. Even at that time I used to get documents registered, as I do now, and likewise used to advise a court suit against those who misappropriated Congress funds just as I do now. The reason is that non-co-operation was and is, limited in its application. The fact that perfect non-violence is impossible to practise while one lives in this body does not vitiate the principle itself. And so about non-co-operation. I have never felt ashamed in admitting my errors, and if I believed that the non-co-operation movement was a mistake and that it has failed, I would follow Mr. Roy's advice and certainly proclaim my errors publicly. I am, however, convinced that that movement has done the country untold good and that, if we look deep, it has not failed. It is true that we have not won swaraj in the sense of political power, but I attach little value to this fact. That people's ideas have changed, that they have become more critical and have acquired courage, is no small gain. The value of the movement will be appreciated in the future. Being too near it as yet, we cannot judge it aright. This being my view, what am I to confess in public? It is of course possible that my view is wrong. But so long as I am myself not convinced of the error of my view, how can I, if I love truth, admit any error? I aim at self-purification even through my political activities; I wish to follow dharma through them, and everyone's dharma is but what he can see for himself. No one has yet discovered absolute dharma which everyone will recognize to be so. Such dharma is beyond our power to understand and explain. Each one of us has but a glimpse of it, and describes it in his own way. Our power is

[1] Gandhiji met the Governor of Bombay on May 18, 1926 in connection with the Royal Agricultural Commission.

limited to the choice of means and I, therefore, believe that our success lies in preserving the purity of our means.

About the Congress, too, I feel that you are labouring under a misapprehension. It is not for one person to decide who should and who should not remain in it. If I could mould the Congress according to my ideas, it would be a different body. Moreover, if the Congress were controlled by one person and public opinion was ignored, it would be not a popular body but a one-man show. There is much else I should like to write. It is possible to reply to your arguments about the other issues which you have raised. I have picked up only the more important points and tried to meet your arguments. Even so, I shall not be dogmatic and do not assert that I am right and you are wrong. We can both be right, each from his own point of view. If we claim to follow the path of truth, how can we say today who is right in an absolute sense? The future alone will show who is right; but one thing I have learnt from my varied experience of life, and that is that, though all of us cannot be of the same view, we can learn to tolerate one another's views. If we do so and if we discuss our views with one another, we can remove all the misunderstandings which may have arisen. It is for this reason that I have valued your letter and felt prompted to reply to it.

I read your letter to Sastri[1]. It did not please me as much as your letter to me did. I feel that it would have been better if you had not written as you have done at this time when he is in difficulty and that too in reply to a request from him. I have passed on to him the cheque which you sent to me, and have made no mention of the copy of your letter to him which you have sent to me. If I had known that you held the view about the society[2] which you have expressed, I would not have written to you for help. I value the gift you have made though holding the views which you do, and did not, therefore, hesitate to send on your cheque to Sastri. Your letter to Sastri, too, seems to me to have been written with the best of motives.

SHRI AMBALAL SARABHAI
MALDEN HOUSE
MARINE LINES
BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19028

[1] V. S. Srinivasa Sastri
[2] Servants of India Society

141. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 12, 1926

I have your letter. You will have misfortune. But there is as much connection between your being in Tiruchengodu and the water scarcity as there is between Z—a new comer—being in the same district and the scarcity. Those who charge you with rivalry unconsciously give your presence an importance you did not deserve. But as there is not much danger of your becoming inflated, let those good people who so charge you have all the pleasure they can derive from their belief.

The Finland idea is dead and recently buried. Dr. Dalal has suspected hydrocele in Devdas. Even if it requires an operation it would be a minor thing. I certainly don't worry about it, perhaps, because I don't dread the knife so much as dread drug-taking.

Poor Santanam! It almost appears as if we in India have more than our share of domestic troubles. And in India the Southern Presidency seems to take the first place.

I shall speak to Shankerlal about the arrangements of the tour.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
GANDHIASHRAM
TIRUCHENGODU

From a photostat: S.N. 10929

142. LETTER TO BANARASIDAS CHATURVEDI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday [*July 13, 1926*]

BHAI BANARASIDASJI,

Your letter to hand. I believe no Indians from Natal now go to British Guiana. And there are no respectable Indians among those who do. I am still in correspondence with the Indians in South Africa. What more should I do? I am looking forward to your other letter as mentioned in your letter.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SJT. BANARASIDAS CHATURVEDI
FEROZABAD
(U. P.)

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2570

143. MESSAGE TO "THE SEARCHLIGHT"

[On or before *July 14, 1926*][1]

If I direct the searchlight on to the present discontent and want to find a remedy for it, I discover the spinning-wheel. Those who take it up seriously will find that their passions cool down and that they are adding something substantial to the swaraj edifice that is being built up.

M. K. GANDHI

The Searchlight, Anniversary Number, 1926

[1] The Anniversary Number of *The Searchlight* was published on 14-7-1926.

144. A LETTER[1]

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 14, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I do not know exactly what you really want to organize. If you have a poor population that has leisure during the year which is not otherwise occupied, you want a scheme for providing them with spinning work. Or, in order to popularize khaddar amongst the middle class and in order ultimately to cheapen khaddar by voluntary spinning, you may wish to organize a voluntary spinners' association; or you may want to do both. Further, besides spinning-wheels, you want some facility for maintaining them when they go out of order. You need slivers and, therefore, the assistance of carders. And, if you have cotton growing near you, you will want to gin your own cotton and, therefore, you would require hand-ginning apparatus. One carder can feed ten spinners each 100 *tolas* and one ginning apparatus can feed 6 middle-sized bows, 2½ lbs. cotton. A hand-ginning apparatus costs Rs. 7/-. A middle-sized carding-bow costs Rs. 5/-. Both these things can be and should be locally made. I would also suggest your opening a small khaddar store, if there are at least 400 subscribers who would purchase khaddar for a minimum sum of Rs. 10 per year. The Rs. 10 should be deposited beforehand. If this can be done, in the store you can have a spinner, carder and ginner to demonstrate the three processes for voluntary spinners. Every voluntary spinner should be able to do his own carding. For paid spinners the custom in every part of India varies. Some spinners require slivers, i.e., carded cotton rolled into strips for spinners to work with, and in some other parts, the spinners do their own carding and take away cotton.

It is difficult for me to send a demonstrator from here. I would suggest your putting yourself in touch with Mr. Ramanathan who is the agent of the All-India Spinners' Association in

[1] It is likely that the letter was addressed to the Manager of Balammapuram Ashram.

Tamilnadu. His full name and address is Sjt. S. Ramanathan, All-India Spinners' Association (Tamilnadu Branch), Erode.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19664

145. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 14, 1926

I have your two telegrams. I knew that some such hitch will come in the way of your coming here although your telegram received yesterday was absolutely emphatic. I thought that you were coming for some other tour or merely to pass a few days here. But Dastane, I know, had lost all heart. He has been so often put off and he had built this time upon all of you going. He wants either all or none. Hence, I suppose his telegram to you. It really cannot be helped.

Manilal and Jamnalalji have agreed to hold themselves free in September and, if you can also be definitely free then, you may undertake a tour or two during this year. But, if you cannot be free in September, I have reconciled myself to no tours during this year. If we can organize what we have on a sound businesslike basis, it will be sufficient compensation for no tours. I have therefore sent you a wire[1] today advising development of your own special work. After all, it takes all your energy.

Here is a letter from the manager of Balaramapuram Ashram and a copy of my reply[2] to him which speaks for itself. Please do whatever is necessary and if you know the manager, correspond with him before he writes to you.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1 (4 sheets)

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI
GANDHIASHRAM
TIRUCHENGODU

From a photostat: S.N. 19665

[1] This is not available.
[2] Presumably the preceding item.

146. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, July 14, 1926

BHAISHRI SHANKERLAL,

I asked Gulzarilal[1] yesterday to write to you and also sent a telegram to Rajagopalachari. I had his wire today, which I enclose. The reply is on the back. It is certain, then, that he will not come on the 16th. If you can think of any other arrangement, write to Rajagopalachari as may seem best to you.

We are having excellent rains here. I am keeping good health.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12197

147. A GREAT HEART

Newspapers tell us that Miss Emily Hobhouse is no more. She was one of the noblest and bravest of women. She worked without ever thinking of any reward. Hers was service of humanity dedicated to God. She belonged to a noble English family. She loved her country and because she loved it, she could not tolerate any injustice done by it. She realized the atrocity of the Boer War. She thought England was wholly in the wrong. She denounced the war in burning language at a time when England was mad on it. She went to South Africa and her whole soul rose against the barbarity of the concentration camps which Lord Kitchener thought were necessary if the war was to be won. It was then that William Stead led prayers for English reverses. Emily Hobhouse, frail as her body was, went again to South Africa at great personal risk to court insults and worse. She was imprisoned and sent back. She bore it all with the courage of a true heroine. She steeled the hearts of Boer women and told them never to lose hope. She told them that though England had gone mad, there were Englishmen and English women whose sympathies were with the Boers and that some day their voice would be heard. And so it was. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman swept

[1] Gulzarilal Nanda, then secretary of Ahmedabad Labour Union, later, minister in the Union Government

the board at the general election of 1906 and made to the wronged Boers such reparation as was possible.

It was after the war and when satyagraha was going on that I had the privilege of being known to Miss Hobhouse. The acquaintance ripened into a life-long friendship. She played no mean part at the settlement of 1914. She was General Botha's guest. Now General Botha had uniformly repelled my advances for an interview. Every time he referred me to the Home Minister. But Miss Hobhouse insisted on General Botha seeing me. And so she arranged for a meeting between the General, his wife and herself and me at the General's residence in Cape Town. Hers was a name to conjure with among the Boers. And she made my way smooth among them by throwing in the whole weight of her influence with the Indian cause. When I came to India and the Rowlatt Act agitation was going on, she wrote saying that I must end my life in prison if not on the gallows and that she did not deplore it. She herself had full strength for such sacrifice. It was an article of faith with her that no cause prospered without the sacrifice of its votaries. Only last year she wrote to me saying that she was in active correspondence with her friend General Hertzog about the Indian cause in South Africa, asked me not to feel bitter against him and told me to tell her what I expected of General Hertzog. Let the women of India treasure the memory of this great English woman. She never married. Her life was pure as crystal. She gave herself to God's service. Physically she was a perfect wreck. She was paralytic. But in that weak and diseased body she had a soul that could defy the might of kings and emperors with their armies. She feared no man because she feared God only.

Young India, 15-7-1926

148. STUDENTS AND NON-CO-OPERATION

A student in a national college has written a long letter of which I give the substance as follows:

> You are aware that in the year 1920 many students all over India left Government-controlled institutions. Several national institutions were started. Some have already gone under. The one that I know is a poor affair. It may be called a foreign imitation under national control minus discipline. Many of our teachers do not know the distinction between khaddar and foreign or mill-made cloth. They

dress like sahebs and though themselves dressed in foreign cloth would not mind talking to us about swadeshi. They remind one of drunkards advising others to give up liquor. They talk of the spirit of sacrifice and the value of joining national institutions when they send their own sons or other relatives to Government-controlled schools or colleges. In fact, there is very little love lost between them and us. Do you wonder at many students having gone back to Government institutions? A few of us however still remain out. But how long can we do so? I would like to prosecute my studies in Germany, but my pecuniary circumstances do not allow me to do so. Can you not send me to the Berlin or any other European University?

The writer has given me his own full name and the name of the institution and all other available particulars. I have purposely refrained from giving the name of the institution and further particulars. For, I do not know enough of it and I could not be party to the specific condemnation of any institution without having studied it. Public purpose is sufficiently served by publishing the general complaint so that those institutions to which the complaint may be applicable may examine themselves and remove all cause of complaint. There is no doubt that in several national institutions things have not been as they should have been and that the professors or teachers have not conformed to the elementary requirements of the Congress programme in so far as it is applicable to national institutions. Teachers who themselves do not believe in non-violence or truth or non-co-operation cannot impart to their students the spirit of any of these things. If they send their children to Government schools, they may not expect to enthuse their pupils over national institutions. Nor may they expect to infect their pupils with love of the charkha or khaddar, if they will not spin themselves or wear khaddar. It is hardly necessary to remark that all national institutions do not deserve the description that the writer gives of the one to which he has belonged. But, the point I desire to emphasize in connection with this letter is that there should be no sorrow felt over one's sacrifice. That sacrifice which causes pain loses its sacred character and will break down under stress. One gives up things that one considers to be injurious and therefore there should be pleasure attendant upon the giving up. Whether the substitute is effective or not is a different question altogether. If the substitute is effective, it is no doubt well, but it is well also even if the substitute is ineffective. It must lead to an effort to procure a better substi-

tute, but surely not to a return to what has been given up after full knowledge and experience of its harmful character. This hankering after going to Berlin or to some other European University is not a sign of the spirit of non-co-operation. It is on a par with substituting Japanese cloth for the English manufacture. We give up English cloth not because it is English, but because it robs the poor of their hereditary employment and therefore makes them poorer still. The Japanese substitute robs the poor no less than the English cloth. Similarly, we give up Government institutions because of their harmful character. We may not therefore reproduce the same thing under a different name and hug to ourselves the belief that we are non-co-operators. Non-co-operation means co-operation with all that is best in the Indian spirit. We cannot cultivate that taste by being in Berlin. It is in India that all our experiments must be made. Till at least we arrive at a complete and effective substitute, the first step, it is quite plain, must be the giving up of Government institutions. Those students therefore who took that step did well if they understood what they were doing. And only the sacrifice of such students will be of increasing benefit to the country as time passes. But those who are repenting or dissatisfied with their own lot should certainly have no hesitation in going back to Government institutions. After all it is a conflict of ideal and if the ideal that non-co-operation stands for is good and is congenial to the Indian soil, it will triumph over every conceivable obstacle.

Young India, 15-7-1926

149. 'TOWARDS MORAL BANKRUPTCY'–III

It is one thing when married people regulate, so far as it is humanly possible, the number of their progeny by moral restraint; and totally another when they do so in spite of sexual indulgence and by means adopted to obviate the result of such indulgence. In the one case, the people gain in every respect. In the other there is nothing but harm. M. Bureau has produced figures and diagrams to show that the increasing use of contraceptives for the purpose of giving free-play to animal passions and yet obviating the natural results of such indulgence has resulted in the birth-rate being much lower than the death-rate, not in Paris only, but in the whole of France. Out of 87 areas into which France is divided, in 68 the birth-rate is lower than the death-rate. In one case, i.e., Lot, deaths were 162 against 100 births.

The next comes Tarn-et-Garonne with 156 deaths against 100 births. Even out of 19 areas where the birth-rate is higher than the death-rate, the difference is negligible in several cases. In ten areas alone is there an effective difference. The lowest death-rate, that is 72 against 100 births, occurs in Morbihan and Pas-de-Calais. M. Bureau shows that this process of depopulation, which he calls 'voluntary death', has not yet been arrested.

M. Bureau then examines the condition of French Provinces in detail and he quotes the following paragraph from M. Gide written in 1914, about Normandy:

> Normandy has lost in the course of 50 years more than 300,000 inhabitants, that is to say, a population equal to that of the whole department of the Orne. Every 20 years she now loses the equivalent of a department, and as she includes but five, a century will be enough to see her fat meadows empty of Frenchmen — I say advisedly of Frenchmen, for assuredly others will come to occupy them, and it would be a pity were it otherwise. Germans work the iron mines round Caen, and for the first time, only yesterday, a vanguard of Chinese labourers landed where William the Conqueror set sail for England.

And M. Bureau adds by way of comment on the paragraph,

> How many other provinces are in no better condition!

He then goes on to show that this deterioration in population has inevitably led to the deterioration in the military strength of the nation. He believes that the cessation of emigration from France is also due to the same cause. He then traces to the same cause the decay of French communal expansion, the decay of French commerce and the French language and culture.

M. Bureau then asks:

> Are the French people who have rejected the ancient sexual discipline more advanced in securing happiness, material prosperity, physical health, and in intellectual culture?

He answers:

> With regard to the improvement in health, a few words will suffice. However strong our wish to answer all objections methodically, it is all the same very difficult to take seriously the assertion that sexual 'emancipation' would tend to strengthen one's body and improve one's health. On every side one hears of the diminished vigour of both, young people and adults. Before the war the military authorities had to lower, time after time, the physical standard of the recruits, and the power of endurance has seriously diminished throughout the whole nation. Doubtless it would be unjust to maintain that lack of moral discipline is alone

responsible for this decline, but it has a large share in it, together with alcoholism, insanitary housing, etc.; and if we look closely we shall easily discover that this indiscipline and the sentiments which perpetuate it are the strongest allies of these other scourges. . . . The frightful extension of venereal diseases has done incalculable injury to the public health.

M. Bureau even disputes the theory advanced by Neo-Malthusians that the wealth of individuals in a society which regulates its births increases in proportion to the restriction it imposes upon them, and fortifies his answer by comparing the favourable German birth-rate and her increasing material prosperity with the decreasing birth-rate of France side by side with its decreasing wealth. Nor has the phenomenal expansion of German trade, M. Bureau contends, been attained at the cost of the German workmen more than elsewhere. He quotes M. Rossignol:

> People died of hunger in Germany when she had but 41,000,000 inhabitants: they have become richer and richer since she numbered 68,000,000.

And adds:

> Those people, who are by no means ascetic, found it possible to place annually in the savings-banks sums which in 1911 amounted to 22,000 million francs; while in 1895 the deposits only reached 8,000 millions, an increase of 850 millions a year.

The following paragraph which M. Bureau writes after describing the technical progress of Germans about the general culture will be read with much interest:

> Without being initiated into the depths of sociology one can have no doubt of it, for it is quite evident, that such technical progress would have been impossible had not workmen of a more refined type, foremen more highly educated, perfectly trained engineers been found. . . . The Industrial schools are of three kinds: professional, numbering over 500, with 70,000 pupils; technical, still more numerous, and some of them with over 1,000 pupils; lastly, the colleges devoted to higher instruction with their 15,000 pupils, which confer, like the Universities, the envied title of doctor . . . 365 commercial schools attract 31,000 pupils and in innumerable schools courses of agriculture give instruction to over 90,000. What, compared with these 400,000 pupils in the different lines of the production of wealth, are the 35,000 pupils of our professional courses, and why, since 1,770,000 of our people, of whom 779,798 are below eighteen years of age, live by the cultivation of the soil, are there but 3,225 pupils in our special schools of agriculture?

M. Bureau is careful enough to note that all this phenomenal rise of Germany is not entirely due to the surplus of births over deaths, but he does contend with justice that, given other favourable conditions, a preponderating birth-rate is an indispensable condition of national growth. Indeed, the proposition he has set forth to prove is that a growing birth-rate is in no way inconsistent with great material prosperity and moral progress. We in India are not in the position of France so far as our birth-rate is concerned. But it may be said that the preponderating birth-rate in India, unlike as in Germany, is no advantage to our national growth. But I must not anticipate the chapter that will have to be set apart for a consideration of Indian conditions in the light of M. Bureau's facts and figures and conclusions.

After dealing with an examination of German conditions where birth-rate preponderates the death-rate, M. Bureau says:

> Are we not aware that France occupies the fourth place—and that a very long way below the third—in regard to the total sum of national wealth? France has an annual revenue from her investments of 25,000 million francs, while the Germans are drawing from their investments a revenue estimated at 50,000 million francs. . . . Our national soil has suffered in thirty-five years, from 1879 to 1914, a depreciation of 40,000 million francs, and is worth only 52,000 instead of 92,000 millions! Whole departments of the country lack men to work the soil, and there are Districts where one sees scarcely any but old men.

He adds that:

> Moral indiscipline and systematic sterility means the diminution of natural abilities in the community, and the undisputed predominance of the old man in social life. . . . In France, there are but 170 children and young people to every 1,000 inhabitants, while, in Germany, there are 220, in England, 210. . . . The proportion of the old is greater than it should be and the others who are prematurely aged through moral indiscipline and voluntary sterility share in all the senile fears of a debilitated race.

The author then observes:

> We know that the immense majority of French people are indifferent to this domestic position (slack morals) of their rulers, thanks to the convenient theory of the 'wall round private life'.

And he quotes with sorrow the following observation of M. Leopold Monod:

> It is a fine thing to go to war in order to cast down infamous abuses, and to break the chains of those who suffer from them. But how about

men whose fears have not known how to guard their consciences from enticements; men whose courage is at the mercy of a caress or a fit of sulks; . . . men who with no shame, perhaps glorying in the exploit, repudiate the vow which in a joyous and solemn hour they made to the wife of their youth; men who burden their home with the tyranny of an exaggerated and selfish egotism—how can such men be liberators?

The author then sums up:

Thus, whichever way we turn, we always find that the various forms of our moral indiscipline have caused serious hurt to the individual, the family, and society at large, and have inflicted on us suffering which is literally inexpressible. The licentious conduct of our young people, prostitution, pornography, and marriages for money, vanity or luxury, adultery and divorce, voluntary sterility and abortion, have debilitated the nation and stopped its increase; the individual has been unable to conserve his energies, and the quality of the new growth has diminished simultaneously with its quantity. "Fewer births and more fine men" was the watch-word, which had something enticing about it for those who, shut up in their materialistic conception of individual and social life, thought they could assimilate the breeding of men to that of sheep or horses. As Auguste Comte said with stinging force, these pretended physicians of our social ills would have done better to become veterinary surgeons, incapable as they always were of comprehending the infinite complexity of the psychology both of the individual and of the society.

The truth is that of all the attitudes which a man adopts, of all the decisions, at which he arrives, of all the habits which he contracts, there is none which exerts over his personal and social life an influence comparable to that exerted by his attitudes, his decisions, and his habits with regard to the appeals of the sexual appetite. Whether he resists and controls them, or whether he yields and allows himself to be controlled by them, the most remote regions of social life will experience the echo of his action, since nature has ordained that the most hidden and intimate action should produce infinite repercussions.

Thanks to this very mystery, we like to persuade ourselves, when we violate in any way the moral discipline, that our misdeed will have no grievous consequence. As to ourselves, in the first place, we are satisfied, since our own interest or pleasure has been the motive of our action; as to society at large, we think it is so high above our modest selves that it will not even notice our misdeeds; and, above all, we secretly hope that "the others" will have the sense to remain devout and virtuous. The worst of it is that this cowardly calculation almost succeeds while our conduct is as yet an abnormal and exceptional act; then, proud of our success, we persevere in our attitude, and when there is occasion we come—and this is our supreme punishment—to believe it lawful.

> But a day comes when the example given by this conduct involves other defections; each of our evil deeds has the result of making more difficult and more heroic that attachment to virtue which we have counted on in "the others", and our neighbour, tired of being duped, is now in a hurry to imitate us. That day the downfall begins and each can estimate at once the consequences of his misdeeds and the extent of his responsibilities. . . .
>
> The secret act has come out of the hiding-place in which we thought it was confined. Endowed in its own way with a kind of immaterial radio-activity, it has run through all sections; all suffer from the fault of each, action, like the wavelets spreading from an eddy, makes itself felt in the most remote regions of the general social life. . . .
>
> Moral indiscipline at once dries up the fountains of the race, and hastens the wear and tear of the adults whom it debilitates both morally and physically.

Young India, 15-7-1926

150. A GREAT PATRIOT

The unexpected and premature death of Umar Sobhani removes from our midst a patriot and worker of the front rank. There was a time when Mr. Umar Sobhani's word was law in Bombay. There was not a public popular movement in Bombay in which, before misfortune overtook him, Umar Sobhani was not the man behind the scene. He was no speaker. He detested public speaking. He never appeared on the stage. He was the stage manager. His popularity among fellow merchants was very great. His judgment was as a rule sound and quick. He was generous to a fault. He distributed his charities among both the deserving and the undeserving. There was hardly a popular movement that did not receive largely from his ample purse. He spent as he earned. Umar Sobhani was extreme in everything. His extremism in speculation proved his economic ruin. He doubled his wealth in a month and he became a pauper the next month. He stood his losses bravely but his proud nature would not permit him to do public work when he lost his million. He would not accept the middle rank. He would retire if he could not top the donation lists. And so he disappeared from public life as soon as he became a poor man. Whenever and wherever there is mention of public workers and public work, it would be impossible not to think of Umar Sobhani and his patriotic services. His life is at once an inspiration and a warning to rich young men. His zealous

work as a patriot is an inspiration. His life shows us that possession of riches is not inconsistent with that of abilities and their dedication to public service. It is a warning to rich young men who would be reckless in ambition. Umar Sobhani was no stupid speculator. Many lost when he lost. There is perhaps nothing to be said against his great cotton purchases which brought him down. But why did he speculate at all? He was already a prince among merchants. As a patriot, it was his duty to restrain his ambition. His life and his name were a trust for the public. And there was need for him to be extra cautious. I know the maxim *De Mortuis nil nisi bonum*. I know also that what I am saying is all wisdom after the event. But I do not criticize to find fault. I do so to profit by the lesson that this patriot's life teaches us. And wisdom after the event is a legitimate virtue for posterity to treasure. We must learn even from one another's errors. We should all be as Umar Sobhani in burning love for the country, in giving well and much for it, if we have riches, in knowing no communal bias or distinction and we must also, if we will, learn to avoid his recklessness and thus deserve the heritage he has bequeathed to us.

I tender my condolences to his aged father and his family.

Young India, 15-7-1926

151. NON-VIOLENCE—THE GREATEST FORCE[1]

[July 15, 1926][2]

Non-violence is the greatest force man has been endowed with. Truth is the only goal he has. For God is none other than Truth. But Truth cannot be, never will be, reached except through non-violence.

That which distinguishes man from all other animals is his capacity to be non-violent. And he fulfills his mission only to the extent that he is non-violent and no more. He has no doubt many other gifts. But if they do not subserve the main purpose—the development of the spirit of non-violence in him—they but drag him down lower than the brute, a status from which he has only just emerged.

The cry for peace will be a cry in the wilderness, so long as the spirit of non-violence does not dominate millions of men and women.

1 This was reproduced in *The Hindu* from the October issue of *World Tomorrow*.

2 The article was sent with the succeeding item.

An armed conflict between nations horrifies us. But the economic war is no better than an armed conflict. This is like a surgical operation. An economic war is prolonged torture. And its ravages are no less terrible than those depicted in the literature on war properly so called. We think nothing of the other because we are used to its deadly effects.

Many of us in India shudder to see blood spilled. Many of us resent cow-slaughter, but we think nothing of the slow torture through which by our greed we put our people and cattle. But because we are used to this lingering death, we think no more about it.

The movement against war is sound. I pray for its success. But I cannot help the gnawing fear that the movement will fail, if it does not touch the root of all evil—man's greed.

Will America, England and the other great nations of the West continue to exploit the so-called weaker or uncivilized races and hope to attain peace that the whole world is pining for? Or will Americans continue to prey upon one another, have commercial rivalries and yet expect to dictate peace to the world?

Not till the spirit is changed can the form be altered. The form is merely an expression of the spirit within. We may succeed in seemingly altering the form but the alteration will be a mere make-believe if the spirit within remains unalterable. A whited sepulchre still conceals beneath it the rotting flesh and bone.

Far be it from me to discount or under-rate the great effort that is being made in the West to kill the war-spirit. Mine is merely a word of caution as from a fellow-seeker who has been striving in his own humble manner after the same thing, may be in a different way, no doubt on a much smaller scale. But if the experiment demonstrably succeeds on the smaller field and, if those who are working on the larger field have not overtaken me, it will at least pave the way for a similar experiment on a large field.

I observe in the limited field in which I find myself, that unless I can reach the hearts of men and women, I am able to do nothing. I observe further that so long as the spirit of hate persists in some shape or other, it is impossible to establish peace or to gain our freedom by peaceful effort. We cannot love one another, if we hate Englishmen. We cannot love the Japanese and hate Englishmen. We must either let the Law of Love rule us through and through or not at all. Love among ourselves based on hatred of others breaks down under the slightest pressure. The fact is such love is never real love. It is an armed peace. And so

it will be in this great movement in the West against war. War will only be stopped when the conscience of mankind has become sufficiently elevated to recognize the undisputed supremacy of the Law of Love in all the walks of life. Some say this will never come to pass. I shall retain the faith till the end of my earthly existence that it shall come to pass.

The Hindu, 8-11-1926

152. LETTER TO KIRBY PAGE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 15, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

With reference to your letter of the 5th May and in continuation of my cable[1] dated 9th June, I send you now my article[2] on non-violence.

You want 2,500 words from me. I have no time to think out anything so big. You will therefore please forgive me for sending you what little I have been able to put together. But, as I [am] sending you my contribution fairly in advance of the time given by you, I hope you will not be inconvenienced by the shortness of my article. Even as it is, what I have given you does not satisfy me. If I could, I would condense it still further.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1 (in 3 sheets)

KIRBY PAGE, ESQ.
EDITOR OF THE "WORLD TOMORROW"
347, MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK
U. S. A.

From a photostat: S.N. 10781

[1] This is not available
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

153. *LETTER TO KURUR NILAKANTAN NAMBUDRIPAD*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 15, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the paper prepared by you. Do you not read *Young India*? It gives facts and figures showing the progress of khadi during the last five years. If you will only take up your *Young India* file for the current year, you will find all figures there. To collect all the statistics from the pages of *Young India* here would be to put an extra tax on the energies of those who have little time to spare from their daily labour.

The experiment that is being scientifically conducted in schools is the one in the 24 schools conducted under superintendence of Shrimati Anasuya Bai. These schools have an attendance of 1600 boys and girls. Spinning is all done by the *takli*. Though all the teachers of the schools know spinning on the *takli* they are obliged to spin as well as the children. A fixed time is set apart for spinning by them. And the yarn so spun is turned out into khadi which in many cases is used by the children themselves.

Experience has taught us that *takli* is the best thing to be introduced in schools. It is handy. It does not go out of order. It is cheap, occupies no room and thousands can spin at the same time; and, whilst the output per hour on a single *takli* is much less than on the spinning-wheel, the collective result of *takli*-spinning in schools is much greater than that of the spinning-wheel for the simple reason that it is impossible to make all the boys to spin on the wheel at the same time. There can only be a limited number of wheels supplied in a school.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KURUR NILAKANTAN NAMBUDRIPAD
TRICHUR
(COCHIN STATE)

From a microfilm: S.N. 11201

154. LETTER TO SALIVATEESWARAN

[*July 15, 1926*][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[2] I do not think there is anything new in the solution proposed by you.

Yours sincerely,

[SALIVATEESWARAN
73, ISSAJI ST.
NEAR RAMA MANDIR
VADGADI
BOMBAY NO. 3]

From a photostat: S.N. 11078

155. LETTER TO B. G. HORNIMAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 15, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[3] I was obliged to send you the telegram[4] if only because I am under a vow not to go out of Ahmedabad or undertake any public function except for unforseen events or

[1] The letter from Salivateeswaran, dated July 14, 1926, was received on July 15, as per note scribbled on it. The reply, presumably, was written the same day.

[2] Forwarding a few lines on what struck him as a solution of the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity, Salivateeswaran sought Gandhiji's candid opinion about it as that would encourage him to study such problems and find out solutions.

[3] Writing on July 13, Horniman had urged Gandhiji to preside over a meeting on July 19 to honour the memory of Umar Sobhani (S.N. 10960).

[4] This is not available.

for reasons of health. You will appreciate my position and forgive me.[1]

Yours sincerely,

B. G. HORNIMAN, ESQ.
"THE INDIAN NATIONAL HERALD"
NAVSARI BUILDING
HORNBY ROAD
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 10962

156. LETTER TO A. T. GIDWANI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 15, 1926

MY DEAR GIDWANI,

I have your letter and I had the spindle also. I have written to the Vice-Principal about the spindles. They are not up to the standard. If standard spindles can be made there, it will be a great relief.

I am glad you are introducing spinning there. All your staff should learn to spin on *takli*. No one can teach these boys better than they. If you do require an instructor, write to Babu Brij Kishen, Krishna Nivas, Katra Khushal Rai, Delhi, and I am sure he will come and help you. He is an enthusiast. Probably you know him. He is a very good man and he would gladly come for a few days. Of course, you will insist upon the boys carding their own cotton and making their slivers. Carding must go hand in hand with spinning.

You have asked me a question about food. I think that the physiological results of food are a consequence and not a cause for the avoidance of animal food. For, even if it could be proved that there is no physiological evil effect from taking animal food, it will still be banned on the principle of ahimsa.

[1] Horniman wrote again pressing Gandhiji to reconsider the matter; *vide* "Letter to B. G. Horniman", 17-7-1926.

I hope you have got Naraharibhai's[1] report by this time.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. A. T. GIDWANI
PREM MAHA VIDYALAYA
BRINDABAN

From a microfilm: S.N. 11267

157. LETTER TO DEVRATNA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 15, 1926

BHAI DEVRATNAJI,

Your letter to hand. I think a lot about the Hindu-Muslim problem but I know that at this moment, it is useless for me to say anything. Rest assured that when I see I can do something I shall certainly place the remedy before the people. This I do know that Hinduism shall never be saved without *tapascharya.* I am giving it due thought and taking necessary action.

From a photostat of the Hindi: S.N. 12200

158. LETTER TO B. B. MANIAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Thursday, July 15, 1926

BHAI BALWANTRAI,

It seems you are rolling in wealth. It also seems that you are not able to come to a decision. Copies of the Ashram rules are exhausted, but the daily routine is as under:

Rising at 4 o'clock. Attending prayers till five. Private studies till 6. Those who cook their own meals do so at this hour. At seven commences work in which everyone joins. It includes cleaning latrines, spinning, weaving, sweeping roads, cooking and numerous other similar activities. Lunch bell at half past ten. Everyone finishes his lunch before twelve, when work is resumed

[1] Narahari Parikh

and it goes on up to half past four. Cooking and meals again between half past four and seven. Prayers a second time, starting at seven and going on up to eight. Then one hour for study and reflection. Retiring for the day at nine. Those who live in the Ashram should strive to observe, in thought, word and deed, the vows of truth, non-violence, non-possession, non-stealing, *brahmacharya*, etc. They should observe the vow of wearing khadi, spin for at least half an hour daily by way of *yajna*, refrain from the practice of untouchability as contrary to dharma, and so on.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12198

159. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 15, 1926

BHAI HARIBHAU,

Herewith a letter from Pyarelal, a teacher. Please find out how far what he says is true and let me know.

I had received your letter from Ujjain. I had written to the Dewan of Mysore for his approval, which he has accorded. Shall I send the report to you? Or to Pustakeji?

Chi. Martand must have written to you yesterday. Do not worry on his account.

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 12201

160. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 16, 1926

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your letter. Why must you enter into all the explanation in respect of Rs. 10/-? I would be grieved if you pinch yourself for sending me Rs. 10/- or anything. As there was a question in the Ashram as to whether the money was received or not and whether, if it was received, it was mislaid, I told you about it. But, it would please me better if you will keep the khaddar and not think of paying for it. After all, what has been

sent to you is second-hand khaddar from old stock belonging to the members of the Ashram. Nor need you hesitate to ask for more if you want more.

I am delighted to hear of the progress made by Nani[1]. It would be an achievement if she speaks three languages equally well when she grows up. I suppose, the strong will she inherits from her mother and gentleness from her father, or, will you say *vice versa*?

It is too early to think of what I shall do next year. But, if I do come to the South, I would love to go to Porto Novo.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BAPU

MRS. ESTHER MENON
(PORTO NOVO)
S. I. R.

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 82

161. LETTER TO ZAFARULMULK ALAVI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I note what you say about your coming to the Ashram.

In my opinion, the scheme you have sent me shows the academy to be a demi-official institution. But, really speaking, you should be best judge of what you should do. In your place I would not join such [an] institution, however beneficial it may be. The secret of our non-co-operation is to renounce the benefits of the system, which we need not receive. Even of the benefits which we voluntarily receive, we picked out some when we embarked upon non-co-operation. Educational institutions were one such thing. But, in the present state of things, when non-co-operation is confined only to individuals every one must really decide for himself. And, where his conscience does not prick, he should unhesitatingly give up non-co-operation.

[1] Esther Menon's daughter

If I could enthuse every single Swarajist to leave the Councils, I would exert all my influence in that direction and I know it will do a great deal of good. Similarly, No-changers, who resume practice in courts or places in senates are no No-changers. But, I want you not to make of Non-co-operation a fetish. Nor to depend upon a *Fatwa* from any authority however much you may esteem it. Test every single action of yours on the anvil of your conscience and unhesitatingly adopt what your conscience approves of.

Yours sincerely,

ZAFARULMULK ALAVI, Esq.
LUCKNOW

From a microfilm: S.N. 11077-a

162. LETTER TO D. N. BAHADURJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have nothing like a guide that would tell you how to arrive at the required strength. But the easiest method of testing the strength of the twist is to make your cone as you are spinning as tight as possible. Now a tight cone is an impossibility if the yarn so spun is not strong enough to bear the strain. It is hardly necessary to count the revolutions. After testing the yarn in the manner I have suggested, you will instinctively spin strong yarn. No doubt revolutions increase a spinner's speed, not necessarily the strength of his yarn. The strength depends upon the deliberation and the tension with which you draw the thread. And the twist is given as it is drawn. A final turn or two of the wheel finishes the twist, before you wind the yarn round the spindle.

The eye is the only guide to evenness. Fineness depends upon the fineness of the spindle and the staple of cotton, as also the manner in which slivers are made.

As you are doing your spinning with scientific precision, I would suggest your learning carding. Carding is, in my opinion, a fine occupation, though strenuous.

Your account of how you came to spin is deeply interesting. Whatever your ulterior object, what prompts you to spin should

be all-suffering for everybody. I am glad too that you appreciate the economic value of the spinning-wheel for the dumb millions. You will not hesitate to send me your yarn for testing whenever you feel inclined.

Yours sincerely,

D. N. BAHADURJI, ESQ.
MALABAR HILL P.O.
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19667

163. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday, Asadha Sud 6, July 16, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

The land in the possession of Joshi Girijashanker which we had been thinking of acquiring must have been purchased today. The total area is 19 *vighas*[1], from which he will retain one *vigha* at the extreme end. Land measuring 18 *vighas* and the buildings will be bought for a total of Rs. 21,000. The owner or his tenant, whoever lives there, will be entitled to draw water from our well. This right will cease if he sells that one *vigha*. When he sells it, we shall have the right of pre-emption at a price to be fixed by a *panch*[2]. We have to pay Rs. 5,000 just now as guarantee money and shall have to pay the remaining 16,000 within one month. The name of the person in whose name the land will be registered is not being entered [in the sale-deed]. I can think of three possibilities: 1) in the name of the Ashram; 2) for cow-protection activities; 3) in your name. If you wish to buy it in your name, you may. Personally, I am inclined to buy it in the name of the Ashram and use it, if necessary, for setting up a dairy or a tannery. Alternatively, we may set up the dairy and the tannery on some other plot of the Ashram land and use this land for agriculture and residential buildings. We are very much short of buildings just now. Whatever the purpose for which we buy the land, you will have to arrange for the money there.

[1] A measure of land equal to about $\frac{1}{3}$ acre
[2] Arbitrator or board of arbitrators

If necessary, you may also see Jugalkishorcji and Ghanshyamdasji in this connection. I think we shall have to start constructing a few more buildings as soon as the rains are over. Please wire to me what is to be done about the money and in whose name the document should be registered. We have had fine rains here. The river is in flood almost every day.

The Hindu-Muslim quarrel is growing there from day to day. Try if you can discover the cause. Write to me in detail.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2868; also S.N. 12202

164. LETTER TO MOHANLAL PANDYA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday, July 16, 1926

BHAISHRI MOHANLAL PANDYA,

I have your letter. Have you been to Sunav, or are you yet to visit it? I showed your letter to Vallabhbhai. He did not know what he could do. I am glad that you wrote about the potters. We can do two things just now, though we have lost our old enthusiasm. One, we can teach potters to have a sense of fairness and to be independent-minded. Since they do not render forced labour any longer, they should expect no favours. They should not have supplied the earth when asked by a private individual. I think he could ask, as a matter of right, to be supplied earth only for the purpose of making tiles. In this matter, therefore, the potters should fully preserve their self-respect. They should be educated to preserve their self-respect. I think it is necessary for them to take permission to dig for earth. If any person could dig anywhere, field after field would be ruined.

Secondly, we should not look upon officials as our enemies. We should not shrink from discussing matters with them as friends. I see no harm in trying to reason with them when rank injustice is being done. Even if we wish to resort to satyagraha, our first step should be to reason with them. Moreover, the poor potters are surely not non-co-operators. There is nothing wrong, therefore, in approaching officials to discuss matters with them on their behalf. Not only so, it may even be our moral duty to some extent and in certain circumstances to try to reason with them. Think over all this and do what you think best.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12203

165. LETTER TO ADAM SALEHALIBHAI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 16, 1926

BHAISHRI ADAM SALEHALIBHAI,

I have your letter. I look upon all scriptures as the inspired speech of holy men, and regard the Koran, too, in the same light. I try to understand the spirit of every religious book without clinging to the literal meaning of its words. I look upon Hazarat Mahomed as one among several prophets. I should like to see a guru who was actually alive today. I have no means of knowing with certainty that my ideas are always good. I am but a humble creature taking every step with fear in my heart. I certainly do not believe that my life will have been wasted if I do not come across a guru before I die. My duty is to work; the fruit is in God's hands to give. I am not looking for a guru in order that he may resolve my doubts. I welcome being the slave of a good man because it would make me happy. The whole country is not against the spinning-wheel, and even if it were I would cling to it so long as my inner voice told me that I should.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19931

166. LETTER TO B. G. HORNIMAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 17, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter as also your telegram.[1] As the telegram was received too late for telegraphic reply to reach you in time, I am sending you my reply by post. I am extremely sorry to

[1] Acknowledging Gandhiji's telegram and letter of July 15, Horniman had hoped that Gandhiji would agree that Umar Sobhani's death was an unforeseen event, and had added: "My co-secretaries, Jamnadas, Shankerlal, Tairsee, Nariman all join with me in pressing our request to you to come to the utmost" (S.N. 10963).

have to disappoint you and so many friends and co-workers. Is death of the dearest ones ever an unforeseen event? As a matter of fact, when I took this resolution in the presence of Mrs. Naidu, Punditji and other friends, I rehearsed the circumstances which could be interpreted to mean unforeseen, and I equally said to myself that meetings of condolences about departed friends should not draw me out of my seclusion. It is very difficult to draw the line when you once begin to relax a self-imposed restriction. Surely, Umar began his work for the country long before I came to India. A meeting held to honour his memory needs no support from me to become successful. I am anxious for you to see my viewpoint and sympathize with me.

Kindly excuse.

Yours sincerely,

B. G. HORNIMAN
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 10964

167. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Saturday, July 17, 1926

CHI. MOTI,

I have your postcard. Recovering lost health is also work. But a person who is lethargic by nature will be lethargic in improving his or her health as well. I hope you do not behave in that manner. You should take every care and recoup your health soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12131

168. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Saturday, Asadha Sud 7, July 17, 1926

BHAISHRI SHANKERLAL,

I have your letter. I think we shall have to do without getting the document registered. The things which they want to be omitted are essential aspects of our work and we cannot at all leave them out, for the words in question are part of the Congress resolution. All the same, I am of the view that the meaning which Bhulabhai and others read is not correct. Suppose the words were "the *organization*[1] of this Government" instead of "*the Congress Organization*."[2] All bodies doing philanthropic work are a part of that organization and can still be registered. I cannot then understand why a body which is a part of the Congress and is mainly engaged in philanthropic work cannot be registered. But can we ever hope to convince Government officials with arguments? Shri Narandas saw me, too, yesterday about the problem of the office. His argument was that almost all the expenditure being incurred now was so much waste of money. But we need not at all be in a hurry when only four or five days are left now. We will discuss the matter at leisure and decide.

There was another telegram, followed by a letter, from Horniman about a public meeting in connection with Sobhani[3]. I am again replying "No". I was having a headache for the past two or three days. It has disappeared completely now. Even when it was there, it was nothing much to speak of.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 12204

[1] & [2] Gandhiji has used the English expressions.
[3] The source has "Bhai".

169. *LETTER TO GULBAI AND SHIRINBAI*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Saturday, Asadha Sud 7, July 17, 1926

DEAR SISTERS,

I have your letter. The chief things by way of preparation for living in the Ashram are cultivating simplicity in food and dress, cultivating a liking for physical labour, spinning regularly every day, learning to card, and making an earnest effort to follow truth and non-violence and observe *brahmacharya*, etc. One should not feel disgust even in cleaning a latrine, but regard it as one's dharma to do so.

GULBAI & SHIRINBAI BEHRAMJI KARADIA
NAVSARI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12205

170. *A DIFFICULT QUESTION*

A teacher asks:[1]

I venture to answer this question because I am myself a sort of teacher and because I have carried out, and am still carrying out, several experiments in that field. This question has been raised by a fellow-teacher. This and similar other questions have been pending with me for a long time now. The friend in question does not insist on the reply being given through *Navajivan*. Considering, however, that a number of teachers seek help from me in solving such difficulties, and some of them may find guidance from my ideas on this subject, I have thought it fit to answer it through *Navajivan*.

Personally, I believe in the *Puranas* as sacred books and also in gods and goddesses. But I do not believe in them in the same way as the interpreters of the *Puranas* do and want others to do. I know too that I do not believe in them as society in general

[1] The questions are not translated here. They related to the symbolism behind the Puranic stories of gods and goddesses and the attitude which teachers should adopt in regard to these legends.

does at present. I do not believe that gods like Indra, Varuna, and others reside in the sky and that they are separate individuals, or even that goddesses like Saraswati and others are separate entities. But I certainly believe that gods and goddesses represent the various powers. Their descriptions are sheer poetry. There is a place for poetry in religion. The Hindu religion has lent to everything that we believe in a scriptural form. In a way, all those who believe that God has innumerable powers may be said to believe in gods and goddesses. Just as God has innumerable powers, He has innumerable forms also. One should worship Him by the name and in the form one likes. I do not think there is anything wrong in that. Whenever and wherever necessary, the symbols and metaphors may be explained and their inner meaning made clear to the children. I for one would not feel any hesitation in doing so. I have not known any harmful result flowing from this. I would certainly not lead the children in any wrong direction. I find no difficulty in accepting that the Himalayas are God Siva and that the Ganga, in the form of Parvati, rises and flows from his matted hair. Not only that, these ideas strengthen my belief in God and it enables me to understand better that everything is pervaded by God. One may interpret stories like the churning of the ocean and so on in the way one likes. Care should, however, be taken to see that the interpretation offered helps in inculcating good morals and noble conduct. Scholars have indeed offered such interpretations according to their intelligence. But it is not to be supposed that these are the only interpretations possible. Just as there is a process of development in man, even so there is a process of development in the meaning of words and sentences. As our intelligence and heart develop, the meaning of words and sentences must also develop and so it does. Where people limit the meaning within narrow confines and build walls all round, it cannot but decay and deteriorate. The meaning and its interpreter both develop together. And everybody will continue, according to his feeling, to draw his own meaning. Those whose minds are impure will see in the *Bhagavata* the delineation of promiscuity, while it was only a vision of the *atman* alone that Ekanath could get out of it. I firmly believe that the author of the *Bhagavata* did not write it to encourage promiscuity. But if those of the present day find in it anything repugnant to their moral sense, they should certainly reject it. To believe that all that is in print—especially if it is in Sanskrit—is true religion is nothing but blind superstition or stupidity.

Therefore, I know but one golden rule by which to solve this problem and I place it before teachers: We must reject everything—be it in the Vedas, the *Puranas*, or any other religious book—that is in our view inconsistent with truth, or is likely to encourage vice. I may mention here an experience that I had while in jail. I had often heard people praising the *Gita-Govinda* of Jayadeva. I wished to read it some day. This poem might have provided enjoyment to many, but for me its reading proved a torture. I did read it but its description pained me. I would not at all hesitate to admit that the fault might have been entirely mine. But I have stated my position merely for the satisfaction of the reader. Since the *Gita-Govinda* did not produce a good effect on my mind, it became unreadable for me and I could reject it because I had my own independent standard to go by in such circumstances. Only those things are to be deemed religiously instructive which make for the elimination of evil thoughts and for the lessening of passions like hatred, only those things whose study would make one stick to truth even when mounting the gallows. The *Gita-Govinda* did not pass this test and therefore it became for me a book to be rejected.

There are today amongst us a number of youths and even old people who think that a thing is worth doing merely because it has been laid down in the Shastras. This will easily lead to our moral degradation. We do not even know what exactly can be called the Shastras. If we believe that whatever goes on in the name of the Shastras is dharma and carry on accordingly, it is bound to lead to undesirable results. Take *Manusmriti* only, for example, I do not know which of its verses are genuine and which are interpolations. But there are quite a few which cannot be defended as religious in their import. We must reject such verses. I am a great admirer of Tulsidas. And I consider the *Ramayana* to be the greatest work. But I cannot subscribe to the idea contained in the couplet: "The drum, the village-fool, the Sudras, animals, women—all these are fit to be beaten." Because Tulsidas, influenced by the ideas prevalent in his time, has expressed this view, it would not be just for me to take to beating the so-called Sudras or my wife or even the animals whenever I find them not submitting to my control.

Now I think that the answer to the question raised above becomes clear. I do not see the slightest difficulty in narrating the story of the gods and goddesses to the extent that it helps in promoting good conduct. I do not say that if the symbol is laid bare and the inner meaning brought out, the children lose inte-

rest in the stories. Assuming, however, that they do lose interest, I cannot approve of the practice of sustaining interest at the cost of truth. We should place before children whatever *rasa* there is in truth. It is my experience that this *rasa* can be expressed and communicated. First the children must be told clearly that there has never yet been in the world a ten-headed demon and that there is no possibility of one occurring hereafter. When this has been made clear, it will be no repudiation of truth or loss of interest if we narrate the story of Ravana as if he really did once exist. The children do understand that the ten-headed monster Ravana is no other than the evil desires inside us which have not only ten but a thousand heads. In *Aesop's Fables* birds and animals speak. The children know that birds and animals cannot speak and yet their delight in his stories is not one whit the less on that account.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 18-7-1926

171. QUALITY AND STRENGTH OF YARN

I have stated before that just as, in respect of yarn count we have progressed from three to eighty, and in respect of spinning speed from 200 yards to 800 yards an hour, and are also better now at preparing skeins of the yarn spun, so it is essential to improve the strength and texture of the yarn. With improvement in yarn strength and texture, weaving would become easier and, therefore, cheaper. We must improve in these respects so far, at any rate, that weavers will buy hand-spun as readily as they buy mill-made yarn. Our ideal should be to make hand-spun yarn more even in texture and more durable than mill-yarn. With this end in view experiments are at present being carried out in Gujarat to improve the quality of yarn, and in quite a short time some of us have achieved near perfection in regard to both texture and strength.

I have received figures regarding the quality of yarn from eight institutions producing khadi with aid from the Gujarat Khadi Pracharak Mandal. The yarn received by the Mandal was from voluntary spinners who spin in the spirit of a *yajna*.[1] I have with me a statement showing the quality of yarn contributed by 71 persons belonging to Kathlal, Nadiad, Dharmaj, Bhadran,

[1] *Vide* "A Correction", 1-8-1926.

Napad, Varad, Sarbhon and Ahmedabad. All of them seem to have used slivers made from cotton carded with a big carding-bow. The varieties of cotton used were *vankad*, *goji*, *deshi* of Nadiad, *Bardoli* and *Surati*. The highest level attained by any of the samples in respect of strength was found to be 52¾ degrees. Some fell to as low a figure as 15, and the highest average figure in this respect was that of Ahmedabad, 42. None of the 71 spinners reached a figure higher than 52¾. Most of them, in fact, are below 40. This degree of strength is very low. It is very difficult to weave yarn of less than 50 degrees in strength. Sixty degrees should be the minimum, and 70 should be regarded as normal. The average in respect of texture comes to 42½, and the maximum goes up to 50, which is nearly the highest possible. This degree of evenness of texture is quite good. The lowest figure for texture was found to be 13, which is low indeed. It should never fall below 40, for it is extremely difficult to weave yarn of that degree of texture, indifferently thick and thin. Only rope can be made out of such yarn.

The experiment carried out in Gujarat has resulted in the strength of yarn reaching the figure 104, which is higher than that of the strongest mill-yarn. The details of this experiment will be published in a short time. Meanwhile, however, all those doing sacrificial spinning should remember that it is essential to pay great attention to improving the quality of yarn. Anyone who is anxious to effect such improvement must keep two things in mind. In the first place, one should not at present think of rejoining the broken thread. When both the hands work in unison, the thread will never break; in any case, it is essential, if the quality of yarn is to improve, that the broken thread should be removed. If the hank is rolled tight, the strength of the yarn will be known, because the stretching of the yarn in tight rolling necessarily tests the strength of the yarn. If the thread breaks while stretching, it may be assumed that it has not been well twisted. The yarn wound on the reel should never be removed from it without first blowing water-spray on it. After the spraying it should be allowed to dry, so that the moisture is absorbed by the yarn and strengthens it. This blowing moistens every fibre in the thread. Uneven spraying will not serve the purpose. The yarn should be properly moistened. Perhaps the best way of ensuring this is to wind the yarn on a separate reel and dip the latter into water and let it remain in water till the yarn is moistened, that is, for two or three minutes. Anyone who can think of other easier methods may certainly try them. The

main point which I have explained should, however, be borne in mind. I hope that no one will at any rate try the experiment of removing the yarn from the reel and dipping it into water, for if the yarn is removed from the reel without being sprayed, it may become looser in twist, and the loss cannot be repaired by blowing water-spray into the yarn afterwards. The blowing is intended to make the twist strong enough so that it will last, and this can be done only by doing the blowing while the yarn is on the reel.

Finally, let all those who do sacrificial spinning remember that on their efficiency depends improvement in the quality of yarn spun by others who work for wages and that improvement in the quality of their yarn will mean increased earnings for these others.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 18-7-1926

172. NOTES

Stocking of Cotton in Panchtalavada

Sarvashri Chhaganlal and Maneklal are working in Panchtalavada on behalf of the Kathiawar Political Conference. They have sent the following account of the work done: Their work is spread over 32 villages, in which 745 maunds of cotton was stocked. Out of this, 216 maunds of cotton was ginned by hand and 529 in the factories. From this, 2681 *vejans*[1] of cloth was woven, that is, 53,620 yards of khadi was produced. Even now a subsidy of Rs. 20 had to be given. Many of them worked efficiently and economically and did not need help. Apart from this, 2,588 yards of khadi was produced from yarn spun and woven for payment. The quantity of cotton mentioned above was stocked by 640 families. The stocking of this gave work to 20 carders and 100 weavers. The carders received about Rs. 1,200 and the weavers Rs. 4,000. The sums were paid by the cultivators themselves. Out of the 640 families, only seven[2] families availed themselves of the help provided. Commenting on this, the two workers say that the success of our work depends on inducing cultivators to stock cotton, for in this way we get a real idea of the

[1] Pieces of 20 yards each

[2] 74 in the original; the error was corrected in the following issue of *Navajivan*.

poverty of our country. We realize, they say, that our real work lies in villages, and that while doing this work we can also do other social work among the villagers. By popularizing the use of the spinning-wheel we can convince people what a terrible disease their idleness is. Wherever the volunteers work in a spirit of service, they succeed in creating a sense of brotherhood among the people. And the difficulty of selling khadi, they point out, is avoided by following the method of getting people to stock their own cotton [and produce khadi for their needs].

Apart from this work of persuading people to stock cotton, these brothers got 100 women to work for wages. The rate of payment was 6 pies per count. Each woman earned between Rs. 2-8 as. and Rs. 3 a month. They spun yarn of 4 to 8 counts. Two carders worked for supplying the slivers required by these women. Twenty weavers were at work weaving the yarn produced. The rate of payment for carding was Rs. 2-10 as. per maund. The weavers were paid Rs. 8 per maund of khadi of between 24 and 27 inches in width and Rs. 10 per maund for khadi of 30 inches width. They were paid Rs. 12[1] for one maund of turban cloth of 16 inches width, the length of each piece being about 10 yards. Thus Rs. 185-8-0 were spent on weaving and Rs. 65-4-0 on carding, Rs. 232-8-0 on weaving and Rs. 4-0-0 on ginning, the total being Rs. 487-4-0.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 18-7-1926

173. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

Monday, July [*19*][2], *1926*

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I got your telegram, and so am addressing this letter to you at Banaras. I wrote a letter last week and addressed it to you at Calcutta. We have purchased Girjashanker Joshi's land for Rs. 21,000. We shall have to spend another Rs. 1,000 on miscellaneous items. The total area of the land is 19 *vighas*, out of which the owner will keep one *vigha* for himself. We have paid Rs. 5,000

[1] Rs. 6 in the original; the error was corrected in the following issue of *Navajivan*.

[2] The letter appears to have been written soon after the one dated July 16 to the addressee.

as earnest money. We have to pay the balance of Rs. 16,000 within a month. The question now is, in whose name should we get the land registered? In your name, or that of the Ashram, or of an institution for cow-protection? I think we should buy it in the name of the Ashram and then use it for any purpose we choose. I should, however, like to respect your wishes in this matter. The land may be purchased in any name, but the money will have to be found by you. You may, if you wish to, discuss the matter with the Birla brothers. Wire to me what we should do. I have promised to pay the money as soon as possible. Kindly, therefore, arrange for that too as early as you can.

Janakibehn[1] feels a little nervous on hearing about the riots in Calcutta. I have reassured her.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2869

174. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI MANORDAS PATEL

Monday [July 19, 1926][2]

BHAISHRI DAHYABHAI,

It was only yesterday that I read your letter. You should improve your health very soon. Whether we are alone or have a life-partner, we should have the strength to work in every condition in which we find ourselves. It is only when we stick to one task with determination that our efforts bear fruit. You should never accept defeat.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

BHAISHRI DAHYABHAI MANORDAS PATEL
VAIDYA JAISHANKAR LILADHAR'S DISPENSARY
AHMEDABAD

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 2696. Courtesy: Dahyabhai M. Patel

[1] Addressee's wife
[2] From the postmark

175. LETTER TO CHAMAN KAVI

THE ASHRAM,
Monday, July 19, 1926

BHAISHRI CHAMAN,

The yarn spun by you is good enough. You should learn carding too. Cling to khadi now.

There is no counting my weaknesses.

Yes, I may say that there was a time when I was pleased by public honour.

There have been more occasions than one in my life when I was overcome with desire in the presence of a woman other than my wife.

There is only one way to keep the mind free from evil thoughts. We should cry and pray to God for help so that we may have only good thoughts. Do you cry any time when praying for things? The manner of begging makes a difference. There is a manner of doing it which must be answered.

Blessings from
BAPU

KERA, CUTCH

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19932

176. LETTER TO NANABHAI BHATT

THE ASHRAM,
Monday, July 19, 1926

BHAI NANABHAI,

Your letter is an exercise for me. Narahari has quoted to you from Shri Mahadev's reply to his letter. Narahari had said that neither pupils nor parents cared for our education and that by and by all of them would join Government schools, that they did not seem keen on wearing khadi or enthusiastic about our aims. My reply to this argument was that, if in any school pupils refused to abide by our rules, they should leave it. The rules include wearing of khadi, non-observance of the practice of untouchability, etc. I had these circumstances in mind when I asked Mahadev to write and say that Narahari had remained in Surat

of his own free will. I had asked for his services for only three or four months. I know Narahari's unsteady nature. Following the principle that one's own sphere of work, though small, is good for one's spiritual development, I said that Sarbhon[1] was the right place for him, but that, if he preferred, he could remain in Surat. After this, my responsibility was over. I do not order, I only advise. I have left it to you to order. I explained what I would do if I were a teacher. Others may follow that course and do the best they can, or do nothing if they can do no more. I have done my duty in offering the bride to the groom at the wedding; it is none of my business to run the house for her. As the bride's father, however, I may certainly advise her from time to time. But I have understood the difference between your point of view and mine. You believe in national education plus khadi, etc. I say that national education itself means khadi and the other things. This is for the first time that you have mentioned this difference. What you understand by national education, apart from these three things, you may explain to me when you are here. Or you may write to me about it.

I would not adopt the method of the missionaries nor that which is supposed to be followed in Islam. Our religion teaches me a third way. I would show the article I offered and state its price, leaving it to the people to buy it at that price. This course decides the question of fitness, and the foundation remains firmly that of truth. The measure of my right angle does not vary according to circumstances; if, however, people cannot fit themselves in it, the fault is not mine, nor with the right angle nor with those people. But all this is neither here nor there. Consider my views, but decide for yourself and act accordingly. If Narahari wishes, he can remain in Surat. You may insist on khadi to the limit you and he think best. My views will remain what they are, till you can change them.

Mama is wonderful. Write and explain to him that in a sense the issue is, and in a sense it is not, one between agriculture and other work. I can have no prejudice against agriculture. But I do not look upon agriculture as a necessary part of our service of the *Antyajas*, and so I cannot but feel when even one pice has to be spent on agriculture, since in spending it we leave our sphere of work.

BAPU

[1] A village in Surat district where a small Ashram was established

[PS.]

If the handwriting is illegible, send for me to help you read it when airplanes come into use. You can send this letter to Narahari. To Mama, only this paragraph.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19933

177. *LETTER TO K. RAJAGOPALACHARI*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 20, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I understand your difficulty. At the present moment the Ashram is crowded. But if you can put up with inconvenience,. do please come whenever you like and remain as long as you like.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI K. RAJAGOPALACHARI
SECRETARY, CHITTOOR D.C.C.
TIRUPATI

From a photostat: G.N. 5669

178. *LETTER TO C. V. RENGANCHETTY*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 20, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have the spinning-wheel and your bill. In accordance with the terms of my first letter to you, asking for the charkha, I shall have to return it. But, before I do so, I want to give you my views upon it so as not to do you an injustice.

The charkha is a flimsy thing. The woodwork is all right, but the wire spokes and the wire stays are perfectly useless because they are not of steel. The wires easily bend under the slightest pressure whereas, in the Khadi Pratishthan Charkha, they are all steel wires. The axle does not lie evenly on the poles. The result is that the wheel-string stays not in the centre, but on one side of

the wheel. The spindle is perfectly useless, because instead of sloping away from one end, it is a straight pointed wire on either end. You cannot spin on it easily. The pulley is perfectly useless. There is no handle-rod provided. The spinning-wheel, therefore, that you have sent me is not only not superior to the Khadi Pratishthan [one] as you claimed, but it is altogether inferior to it. I had sent for your charkha in order to test its quality, because the price you quoted was surprisingly low. The price of the Khadi Pratishthan Charkha was fixed in consultation with me after much deliberation and after arriving at the net cost. You have no notion how much it costs when the details about fittings are to be made scrupulously correct as they are in the Khadi Pratishthan Charkha. Every part is tested before it is sent out. It is evident to me that you do not yourself handle spinning-wheels. And, unless one knows how to handle spinning-wheels, one could be easily deceived by a superficial similarity.

You will now tell me what to do with your charkha. I do not want you to be out of pocket by a single pice. I will, therefore, gladly send the charkha back to you. But if you want me to send it somewhere else, I shall gladly do so at my cost. Or, if you want me to try this charkha in any other manner, I would gladly do so. And, if it can at all prove satisfactory, I should keep it and discharge your bill.

Yours sincerely,

C. V. RENGANCHETTY
NARAYANAVARAM

From a microfilm: S.N. 11204

179. LETTER TO SIR HAROLD MANN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 20, 1926

MY DEAR SIR HAROLD MANN,

I thank you for your letter[1] inviting me to demonstrate hand-spinning at the forthcoming exhibition in Poona. I should love to do so, but for two reasons. Up to the 20th of December, I

[1] Writing on July 14, Mann had considered a spinning demonstration by Gandhiji "the most effective means of pushing the use of hand-spinning by the rural classes that could be devised" (S.N. 11200).

am under a vow not to leave Ahmedabad except upon some pressing unforeseen public call or for reasons of health. Secondly, I want to move slowly and, therefore, I do not want to identify myself so much with functions which, though they may be unofficial, may have an official colouring or patronage. It is more truthful for me to do so so long as I suspect the existing system as an evil. I know I can write thus freely and frankly to you without being considered in any way discourteous.

You will find, however, that the party of demonstrators that will be sent to you will be thoroughly effective and the demonstration itself will be given in a scientific manner. Because we are experimenting upon this in a scientific manner, not one of the principal workers has[1] any preconceived notions or prejudice one way or the other. It is because we feel that the charkha is the one thing that can save the sinking peasantry from extinction that we are devoting all our energy to its improvement and success.

I have been brooding over the Dairy scheme that you have kindly sent me. There seems to be no land near Ahmedabad that I can get, but if you could send the expert you have in view, he will see the land near the Ashram that we have got and, if he thinks that a Dairy could be established here on an unambitious scale, a portion of the land can be set apart for the purpose. And, if that proves unsatisfactory, I must confer with him about securing a plot of land some distance from Ahmedabad. I am running a little Dairy here myself. Perhaps, it may be extended. Nothing, however, can be done without a personal conversation with one who knows all about dairying.

Yours sincerely,

SIR HAROLD MANN
DIRECTOR OF AGRICULTURE
B. P., POONA

From a microfilm: S.N. 11205

[1] The source has "have".

180. *LETTER TO URMILA DEVI*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 20, 1926

MY DEAR SISTER,

I have your very full but heart-rending letter. Though you have written that letter hurriedly and whilst your brain was in a whirl, it is perfectly coherent and without a single slip. It grieves me to learn that Basanti Devi has ill-stood the strain of Bhomble's death. Coming so soon on top of Deshbandhu's death and with the illness of Mona and Baby, no wonder she has broken down. But, I do hope that she has now recovered from the shock and has somewhat reconciled herself to God's will.

I am glad to hear that Sujata has risen to the occasion and that she is bearing her grief bravely. Do ask her to drop me a line. How I wish I was there at this juncture. But that cannot be. May God comfort you all.

Yours,

SHRIMATI URMILA DEVI
4A NAFARKUNDU ROAD
KALIGHAT
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 19668

181. *LETTER TO BASANTI DEVI DAS*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 20, 1926

MY DEAR SISTER,

You never write to me and I must not expect you to write to me in your present state. Urmila Devi has just sent me a long letter describing your grief and telling me how you have broken down this time. I do not wonder at it. Mona and Baby ill and Bhomble passing away so suddenly and so tragically. Enough to break the stoutest heart. But I know that you will soon recover from the shock, if not for your sake, for the sake of those whom Bhomble has left behind him.

Please pass the accompanying[1] on to Sujata. I hope Mona and her child are quite all right, and that Baby has recovered completely. I take it that Bhasker is his own self again.

Yours,

SHRIMATI BASANTI DEVI
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 19669

182. LETTER TO SUJATA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 20, 1926

MY DEAR SUJATA,

Urmila Devi tells me that you are bearing your grief bravely. I know you are a good girl. Do give me a line to tell me how you are feeling. May God be with you.

Yours,

SRIMATI SUJATA
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 19669

183. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 20, 1926

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I was reading up your article on the coming conference in South Africa for *Young India* yesterday and I felt that the article was not well-considered. You have evidently felt it yourself and so, in order to tone down the impression left on your readers, you have added six lines in your own hand. But that has merely made the position worse. Your theme is that the cause of prejudice in South Africa is solely colour. If you will review the whole of your experience, you will find that this is only half-truth. If it was the whole truth, Round Table Conference would be no remedy

[1] *Vide* the succeding item.

for it. We must then, whilst there is yet time, clear every Indian from South Africa. It is due to the whites and it is due to ourselves. If the sayings that you have quoted of two Europeans are the typical and almost universal sentiment amongst the average white man in South Africa, is it right to resist that sentiment? Can the Government, no matter how powerful it may be, do otherwise than pass progressively drastic legislation? The sentiment may be altogether bad. But, can a man overcome his prejudice? And, if the average white man in South Africa, more especially in Natal as you say, has that prejudice, isn't it the duty of those like you and me who want to serve truth before anything else to face that fact squarely in the face and pave the way for a dignified and honourable withdrawal of every single Indian from South Africa? If I was convinced, as you are convinced, of this colour prejudice, I would certainly advocate withdrawal even if mine was the only voice. But, of course, I do not share your conclusions. In the first instance, I do not regard human nature in South Africa to be so badly debased. I think that the prejudice is very much mixed. As a matter of fact, if the prejudice was as great as you imagine, the Europeans would make it so hot for Indians that they could not possibly live there for a single minute. No legislation would be needed for that purpose. Remember that even now Indian trade is dependent upon European patronage. The colour prejudice is no doubt universal in social life. That is a barrier which time alone will break. No legislation is necessary for breaking that barrier. For that matter that barrier is far worse, perhaps, here than in South Africa. But I do not want to carry the argument any further. All I want to say is you should put a curb upon your pen, for, anything you write must have and has its effect. This article of yours is so terrible. I return it to you so that you can refresh your memory. If I am wrong, you will correct me. I have suppressed also the article you sent me on 'Opium'. That article was too hurriedly written to be of any value. It was too scrappy, did not even give sufficient information. But both these articles indicate extreme fatigue of mind. Will you not restrain yourself a bit, or, do you think that it is God's call that your pen must be ever running? Gregg has summed up this writing disease of yours in one single line. He says, 'The insect bite poisoning was a godsend for you, because, it obliged you to put away your pen.' Anyway, I absolve you from all obligation to write for *Young India* till you have had some rest. And, if you want such discharge from the other newspapers, I undertake to procure it for you. And I give you my

assurance that the world will not go to pieces for the suspension of your writings, because, there is hardly a paper I am opening in which I do not see long articles from you on the same subject. If they cannot exist without you, let them die. I feel grieved to find that you must be continually writing when there is no necessity for it.

With deep love,

Yours,

REV. C. F. ANDREWS
SANTINIKETAN

From a photostat: S.N. 19670

184. LETTER TO A. M. SIMPSON

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 20, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter with prospectus. The object of the syndicate seems to me to be only to buy out the oil seeds. It is not stated anywhere who are the promoters of this effort, who has laid out funds for the initial cost. Unless I have more accurate information, it is not possible for me to express any opinion.

Yours sincerely,

A. M. SIMPSON, ESQ.
SECRETARY
CO-OPERATIVE VEGETABLE OIL SYNDICATE LTD.
INDORE, C.I.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19671

185. LETTER TO PARAMANAND KUNVARJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Asadha Sud 10, July 20, 1926

BHAISHRI PARAMANAND,

I have your letter. I understand your point about the use of words and am well aware of the value of precision. The use of the same word in different senses leads to a good deal of misunderstanding, but I think it is not difficult to understand the general purport of my writings.

In regard to Madhuri, you are to blame. Having placed our children in a certain atmosphere, is it not surprising indeed that we believe or wish that they will remain untouched by it? I come across instances of this everywhere. You should now remove Madhuri and place her in an atmosphere of simplicity, if you do not wish her to become fashion-loving. But to keep her where she is and then insist that she should not wear foreign cloth has a strong smell of coercion about it.

On the issue of principle which you have raised in connection with Madhuri, my view is that parents should exercise control over children. We cannot let them do everything they will. Our wisdom lies in keeping them under control with the least restraint over them. If a child runs in the direction of a well, or wants to eat a rich and stimulating preparation or would indulge in overeating, if it asks for *bhajiyan*[1] and *puri*[2] when it is running a temperature—in all such instances we should resist the child's wish. This is also true about matters involving moral principles.

But the problem of husband and wife is on a different footing, and an extremely difficult one to solve. What happens when, in a non-vegetarian family, the husband becomes a vegetarian as a matter of religious principle? Should the wife follow, against her will, what the husband has accepted as his dharma? I think that the husband, if he has overcome his lust, should maintain an attitude of detachment and even help the wife to have her non-vegetarian food. If the wife cannot go out to buy such food for herself and if the husband, though still not free from lust, has given up meat-eating, etc., as a matter of religious principle, the latter may, because he has not been able to impose discipline over him-

[1] & [2] Fried preparations

self in regard to the first matter, cut off relations with his wife and provide her with money to enable her to live apart from him. If she wants to marry some other person belonging to their own religion, the husband should not oppose her but, on the contrary, help her. This is what my creed of non-violence suggests to me. Such a course of action will satisfy many principles simultaneously, but we can deduce all of them from the principle of non-violence.

It is now easy to see how a husband, who has adopted khadi as a matter of religious principle, should act towards his wife who does not follow him. This is not the end of the matter, though. In Hindu society, the husband is regarded as his wife's friend, and also as her teacher and guardian. If he understands his duty in that capacity, his duty as a husband which I have explained above will have to be modified somewhat. But I need not enter into a discussion of that.

PS.

I have put the matter so briefly here that I should not like public use to be made of this letter.

SHRI PARAMANAND KUNVARJI
137, SHARAF BAZAAR
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10966

186. LETTER TO SAIYID HAIDAR RIZA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 21, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] What I said on my release from prison is embedded in a signed document of which I send you a copy.[2] I

[1] Riza had referred in his letter of June 30 to reports in the English Press of sanguinary Hindu-Muslim conflicts in India. "I have also noticed that the commencement of these feuds synchronises with your imprisonment, and I had hoped that with your restoration to liberty, these unfortunate conflicts would come to a stop. They are however still continuing undeterred."

[2] Riza had further observed: "On your release, the papers in this country accredited you with an opinion, which they avowed you made in public, that the feelings were so high between the two factions that the only solution would be a pitched battle between the two which could exhaust their anger and settle

had indeed flattered myself with the hope that my release from prison would bring about unity. But my hope was dashed to pieces. Whilst I quite agree with you that the fault lies with us, I have not a shadow of a doubt that the foreign power takes advantage of our weaknesses and trades upon them. You ask me to do something. I am doing all I possibly can. But I feel my utter helplessness and worthlessness. The remedy that I have is not acceptable to either party. I am, therefore, watching, waiting and praying. I have no doubt that some day better counsels will prevail.

Yours sincerely,

SAIYID HAIDAR RIZA, ESQ.
9, WYKEHAM ROAD
HASTINGS

From a photostat: S.N. 11082

187. LETTER TO R. B. GREGG

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 21, 1926

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I have your letter. If I was a believer in miracles, I would say that my not going to Finland was a miracle. I had actually dictated a letter and telegram of final acceptance and the mere accident of my having gone to the 'Library' and a flash light perception altered the whole situation within five minutes.

I am certainly eager to go to China if I find the way clearly open, but not for the reasons you mention. I do not believe in imported credit and, therefore, I do not think that my way in India will be smoother if the Chinese accepted it; nor am I in any way hopeful of their acceptance. What attracts me to China is identity of status in that both are nations under foreign domination. I came in very intimate contact with the Chinese colony in the Transvaal. And, as a matter of fact, I believe that whilst I would have readily got in Finland intellectual assent to the

their minds. I trust this statement imputed to you is not entirely true" (S.N. 11074). The "signed document" is the "Letter to Mahomed Ali", 7-2-1924, which Gandhiji had intended to be "a message to his countrymen on his release"; *vide* Vol. XXIII, pp. 199-202.

doctrine of ahimsa, I shall find it terribly difficult to secure that assent from the Chinese, whether cultured or uncultured. But that does not worry me as it does not worry me here whether people accept ahimsa or not. What I am afraid of about Europe and America is patronage. I entertain no such fear about China. You will detect here in me a subtle pride and, if you do, you will not be far wrong. But there it is.

I think that some friend did send me the book called *The Arm of God.* I do not think I read it carefully. But, since you think so highly about it, I shall ask our librarian to search it out and give it to me.

By all means put into shape your economic arguments about khaddar before you write on ahimsa.[1] Whenever you send me questions, I shall try to deal with them.

I must not stir out of Sabarmati at the present moment. I am keeping well. I am trying the experiment of living on fruit alone. This is the 9th day. I am not feeling weak. I do not expect to be able to retain my strength indefinitely on fruit alone. I have commenced the experiment to avoid constipation. I am continuing it for pleasure. I should love to drop milk any time. My food just now is grapes and mangoes.

Please tell Sundaram I have got his beautiful weekly gift and tell him not to worry if he miss a week.

With love to you all.

Yours sincerely,

R. B. GREGG, ESQ.
C/O S. E. STOKES, ESQ.
KOTGARH
SIMLA HILLS

From a photostat: S.N. 19672

[1] Gregg later wrote *The Economics of Khaddar* and *The Power of Non-violence.*

188. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 21, 1926

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I got the letter which you wrote in June concerning the Khadi Pratishthan. I thought I had replied to it. I had nothing to say about what you did. Whatever help you can give to it cannot but have my approval. I can say with confidence that those who are in charge of the khadi activity in Bengal have been conducting it with selflessness, sincerity and dexterity. I send with this an account of all the sums spent in Bengal through the All-India Spinners' Association. I gather from newspapers that Hindu-Muslim dissensions are spreading there day by day, but I no longer feel shocked by such news and my faith remains unshaken that out of this very state of things will come a day, and that very soon, when the two communities will be united. Have you been able to understand why such riots are more frequent in Bengal?

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6130. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

189. LETTER TO BANARASIDAS CHATURVEDI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Asadha Sud 11 [*July 21, 1926*][1]

BHAI BANARASIDAS,

I have your letter. The best policy at the present time seems to be to keep aloof from all parties. I was pained, but not surprised, by the bitter experience in regard to the emigrants section. I simply cannot regret having undertaken such an experiment. We can gain no experience without experimenting, and every moment I feel the truth of the remark of mine which you have

[1] From the postmark

quoted. You are also right when you say that officials of the Congress should not be blamed for the failure of this section. The case of Dr. Sudhindra Bose is an unhappy one.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI BANARASIDAS CHATURVEDI
FEROZABAD
(U.P.)

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2567

190. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Asadha Sud 11 [July 21, 1926][1]

BHAI NAJUKLAL,

I have your letter, and Moti's too. Moti seems to think that she has taken proper care of her health by not neglecting her medicine, whereas medicine is the least part of the business. Illness is caused by violation of rules of diet, exercise, rest, etc. Being careful about health means cheerfully observing these rules, and breaking them is to be guilty of extreme lethargy. Explain this to her.

I look upon Hindu-Muslim riots as a kind of surgical operation. It would have been excellent if we could have avoided it, but evidently we have been suffering from inflammation of this particular limb and the condition was no longer curable by bandaging the part. When this rioting is over, one day we shall certainly become united. And if this society is much too decayed to last, let it perish. In any case the present condition is not worse than the profound darkness in which it was slumbering.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 2132; also S.N. 19934

[1] From the postmark

191. LETTER TO REVASHANKER J. JHAVERI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Asadha Sud 11, July 21, 1926

RESPECTED REVASHANKERBHAI,

I have your letter. It is quite necessary to be firm with Ratilal[1]. I have already let him know that he will not get a single pie unless he gives an account of the money spent. We should get the Doctor's figure directly. I have written to Champa[2], too, about the extravagant spending, but she has not replied. I am awaiting her arrival here.

The day before yesterday, Punjabhai[3] felt giddy and fainted. He is not in a condition now to go anywhere. It seems you have written to him asking him to go there in connection with the affairs of the firm of Chhaganlal Mansukhlal. I think it would be best not to trouble him about that matter any further. He wants you to solve the problem as best as you can there, and to me also that seems the right course.

It is clear that you should go to a cool place every summer.

LABURNUM ROAD
GAMDEVI
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12208

192. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS BHIKHABHAI

SABARMATI,
July 21, 1926

DEAR SHRI PRABHUDAS BHIKHABHAI,

I have your letter. I believe it is possible to conserve the vital fluid by learning to control one's breath, but that does not solve the problem of *brahmacharya*. *Brahmacharya* means control of all the senses. Perhaps you do not know that medical scientists in

[1] Ratilal Pranjivandas Mehta, addressee's nephew
[2] Wife of Ratilal
[3] Punjabhai Hirachand Shah of Ahmedabad

this age perform a surgical operation which prevents the emission of the vital fluid; would you call a person so operated upon a *brahmachari*? A shastri explained to me the meaning of conservation of the vital fluid, and said that in Sanskrit the phrase *viryanigraha* has reference to the sublimation of the vital fluid so that it flows upwards. And then he told me that Krishna whose doings are described by the author of the *Bhagavata* was a person in whom the vital fluid was sublimated in this manner, and so he was free to have relations with any number of women. Are you prepared to look upon such a person as a *brahmachari*? You will now see that the *brahmacharya* achieved through mere breath control is of little value. The real value of *brahmacharya* lies in the expenditure of the great energy required for mastering the senses; when, through such expenditure, the senses become *atman*-oriented, the power which is generated by the effort can pervade the entire universe. It is my unshakable conviction that such *brahmacharya* cannot be achieved by methods of purely external control. In the second chapter [of the *Gita*][1], Shri Krishna, who had the wisdom of experience, says that fasting may calm a man's desires, but that his pleasure in objects of the senses does not disappear completely. It disappears only when he has realized God, and he will have to strive during life after life before he realizes God. Remember what Shankaracharya said in this connection. If a man, sitting on the shore, attempts the impossible task of emptying the sea by taking out the water drop by drop, on a blade of grass, he may, if he has the necessary patience and if he can find an empty hollow large enough, succeed in transferring the water after millions of years the number of which can be calculated arithmetically; to realize God requires more patience than this, and, according to the Lord, achieving *brahmacharya* means realizing God. Please understand that in saying all this I am not at all underestimating the value of breath-control. I believe it to be an aid in our effort, but by itself it is not enough. It can be a stage, and not a very advanced one at that, in the difficult journey towards the goal of *brahmacharya*. My only complaint against you is that you seem to attach more importance to it than it deserves.

Vandemataram from

KATHLAL MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19935

[1] II, 59

193. NATIONALISM AND CHRISTIANITY

The following is a condensation of a speech[1] delivered by Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge of Union Christian College, Alwaye, and sent to me for publication. The speech is useful as showing the growing national consciousness among Christian Indians. The wonder is that the process has been so long delayed. How any man of religion can help being in sympathy with the strivings of his nearest neighbours passes comprehension. Internationalism presupposes nationalism—not the narrow, selfish, greedy spirit that often passes under the name of nationalism, but the nationalism that, whilst it insists upon its own freedom and growth, will disdain to attain them at the expense of other nations.

Young India, 22-7-1926

194. THAT ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

So it has been announced that the forthcoming Conference on the position of Indians in South Africa is to take place in Cape Town and that a Commission from South Africa is likely to visit India in order to study Indian conditions. The Commission is to include Dr. Malan the present Secretary for the Interior and Mr. Duncan an ex-Secretary.

This is all to the good.

It is good that the Conference is to take place in South Africa. The Union Government being a wholly responsible government must have in all its undertakings the backing of public opinion in a sense in which the Indian Government has never felt itself under the necessity of having. Moreover no public opinion needs to be created in India in favour of the Indian claim. It is there already. In South Africa, too much cannot be done to educate European opinion on the absolute justice of the Indian claim. If, therefore, the Union Government means well and the selection of Indian representatives is wisely made, apart from the value of its deliberations, the Conference can be a means of directing European opinion in the right channel.

It is well also that a Commission from South Africa is to visit India. It will gather impressions which only a personal visit can

[1] Not reproduced here

make. No amount of reading literature or meeting representatives can possibly make up for local inspection and seeing the people themselves face to face.

It is well also that the Commission is to include top men who are supposed to have studied the question. Our case is so just that the more it is studied, the better it is for us. We have nothing to lose by the closest examination and the widest publicity. The more South Africans visit us, the better for us. The greatest stumbling-block in the way of a settlement is the ignorance, on the Indian question, of the best among South Africans. They merely know the demand of the interested white traders. They know little of the Indian side. If the Conference results in a serious study of the question, the bogey of an Indian invasion or even the competition of those Indians who are already settled there will disappear in a moment.

There is the other side to the picture. General Hertzog's speeches are disturbing. I do not conceive the possibility of justice being done to Indians, if none is rendered to the natives of the soil. The mentality is the same in respect of Indians as of the Natives. Indeed, it is much worse regarding Indians. Natives, it is said, have a claim upon the consideration of the whites; Indians are mere interlopers. Of course, it is forgotten that Indians were enticed in the first instance to go to South Africa to labour for the Whites and that they were promised permanent settlement under advantageous terms. The point, however, just now is not what they were promised, but what is the mentality of the Whites towards the Indian settlers. And it being one of greater hostility towards them, justice to them is not to be expected if injustice is done to the Natives. To reduce it to the lowest terms, the wish to see justice done to the Natives is based upon selfish considerations. If we go a little deeper, we shall discover that justice can never be purchased at the expense of another. When the seer prayed 'may all people be happy', he intuitively perceived a scientific truth.

Young India, 22-7-1926

195. 'TOWARDS MORAL BANKRUPTCY'-IV

Having dealt with the indiscipline of morals and its aggravation by the use of contraceptives and its terrible results, the author[1] proceeds to examine the remedies. I must pass over the portions that deal with legislative measures, their necessity and yet utter inefficiency. He then discusses the necessity, by a careful education of public opinion of the duty of chastity for the married, the duty of marriage for that vast mass of mankind that cannot for ever restrain their animal passions, the duty, having once married, of conjugal fidelity and the duty of continence in marriage. He examines the argument against chastity that its

> precept is against the physiological nature of man and woman and injurious to the happy equilibrium of their health,

that it is

> an intolerable attack on the freedom and autonomy of the individual, his right to happiness and to live his life is his own way.

The author contests the doctrine that 'the organ of generation is like the rest' requiring satisfaction. He says,

> If it were an organ like the others, how could we explain the absolute inhibitory power which the will possesses over it? Or the fact that the awakening of sensuality, which pharisaism calls the sexual necessity, is the result of the innumerable excitements which our civilization provides for young boys and girls several years before normal adult age?

I cannot resist the temptation of copying the following valuable medical testimony collected in the book in support of the proposition that self-restraint is not only not harmful but necessary for the promotion of health and perfectly possible:

> "The sexual instinct," says Esterlen, professor at Tubigen University, "is not so blindly all-powerful that it cannot be controlled, and even subjugated entirely, by moral strength and reason. The young man, like the young woman, should learn to control himself until the proper time. He must know that robust health and ever-renewed vigour will be the reward of this voluntary sacrifice.
>
> "One cannot repeat too often that abstinence and the most absolute purity are perfectly compatible with the laws of physiology and morality,

[1] M. Bureau

and that sexual indulgence is no more justified by physiology and psychology than by morality and religion."

"The example of the best and noblest among men," says Sir Lionel Beale, professor at the Royal College in London, "has at times proved that the most imperious of instincts can be effectively resisted by a strong and serious will, and by sufficient care as to manner of life and occupation. Sexual abstinence has never yet hurt any man when it has been observed, not only through exterior restrictive causes, but as a voluntary rule of conduct. Virginity, in fine, is not too hard to observe, provided that it is the physical expression of a certain state of mind. . . . Chastity implies not only continence, but also purity of sentiments, the energy which is the result of deep convictions."

"Every kind of nervous activity," says the Swiss psychologist Forel, who discusses sexual anomalies with a moderation equal to his knowledge, "is increased and strengthened by exercise. On the other hand, inactivity in a particular region reduces the effects of the exciting causes which correspond to it.

"All causes of sexual disturbance increase the intensity of desire. By avoiding these provocations it becomes less sensitive, and the desire gradually diminishes. The idea is current among young people that continence is something abnormal and impossible, and yet the many who observe it prove that chastity can be practised without prejudice to the health."

"I know," says Ribbing, "a number of men of 25, 30, and older than that, who have observed perfect continence, or who when they married had done so up to that time. Such cases are not rare; only they don't advertise themselves.

"I have received many confidences from students, healthy both in body and mind, who have remonstrated with me for not having sufficiently insisted on the ease with which sensual desires can be ruled."

"Before marriage, absolute continence can and ought to be observed by young men," says Dr. Acton. "Chastity no more injures the body than the soul," declares Sir James Paget, Physician to the English Court; "Discipline is better than any other line of conduct."

"It is a singularly false notion," writes Dr. E. Perier, "and one which must be fought against, since it besets not only the children's mind, but that of the fathers as well: the notion of imaginary dangers in absolute continence. Virginity is a physical, moral, and intellectual safeguard to young men."

"Continence," says Sir Andrew Clarke, "does no harm, it does not hinder development, it increases energy and enlivens perception. Incontinence weakens self-control, creates habits of slackness, dulls and degrades the whole being, and lays it open to diseases which can be

transmitted to several generations. To say that incontinence is necessary to the health of young men is not only an error, but a cruelty. It is at once false and hurtful."

"The evils of incontinence are well-known and undisputed," writes Dr. Surbled: "those produced by continence are imaginary; what proves this is the fact of the many learned and voluminous works devoted to the explanation of the former, while the latter still await their historian. As to these latter there are but vague assertions, which hide themselves, for very shame, in mere talk, but which will not endure the daylight."

"I have never seen," writes Dr. Montegazza in *La Physiologie de l'amour*, "a disease produced by chastity. . . . All men, and especially young men, can experience the immediate benefits of chastity."

Dr. Dubois, the famous professor of neuropathology at Berne, affirms that "there are more victims of neurasthenia among those who give free rein to their sensuality than among those who know how to escape from the yoke of mere animalism"; and his witness is fully confirmed by that of Dr. Fere, Physician at the Bicetre Hospital, who testifies that those who are capable of psychic chastity can maintain their continence without any fear of their health, which does not depend on the satisfaction of the sexual instinct.

"There has been unfitting and light talk," writes Professor Alfred Fournier, "about the dangers of continence for the young men. I can assure you that if these dangers exist I know nothing about them, and that as a physician I am still without proof of their existence, though I have had every opportunity in the way of subjects under my professional observation.

"Besides this, as physiologist I will add that true virility is not attained before the age of twenty-one, or thereabouts, and the sexual necessity does not obtrude itself before that period, especially if unhealthy excitements have not aroused it prematurely. Sexual precocity is merely artificial, and is most often the result of ill-directed upbringing.

"In any case, be sure that danger of this kind lies far less in restraining than in anticipating the natural tendency; you know what I mean."

Lastly, after these most authoritative testimonies, to which it would be easy to add many others, let us quote the resolution unanimously voted at Brussels in 1902 by the 102 members present at the second General Congress of the International Conference of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, a congress which assembled together the most competent authorities on the subject throughout the world: "Young men must above all be taught that chastity and continence are not only not harmful, but also that these virtues are among those to be most earnestly recommended from the purely medical and hygienic standpoint."

There was also a unanimous declaration issued by the professors of the Medical Faculty of Christian University, a few years ago: "The assertion that a chaste life will be prejudicial to the health rests, according to our unanimous experience, on no foundation. We have no knowledge of any harm resulting from a pure and moral life."

The case has, therefore, been heard, and sociologists and moralists can repeat with M. Ruysen this elementary and physiological truth, "that the sexual appetite does not need, like the requirements of aliment and exercise, a minimum of necessary satisfaction. It is a fact that man or woman can lead a chaste life without experiencing, except in the case of a few abnormal subjects, serious disturbance or even painful inconvenience. It has been said and cannot be too often repeated, since such an elementary truth can be so widely disregarded—that no disease ever comes through continence to normal subjects, who form the immense majority, while many diseases, very well known and very serious, are the results of incontinence. Nature has provided in the most simple and infallible way for the excess of nutrition which is represented by the seminal fluid and the menstrual flux."

Dr. Viry is therefore right in denying that the question is one of a true instinct or a real need: "Everyone knows what it would cost him not to satisfy the need of nourishment or to suppress respiration, but no one quotes any pathological consequences, either acute or chronic, as having followed either temporary or absolute continence. . . . In normal life we see the example of chaste men who are neither less virile in character, nor less energetic in will, nor less robust, than others, nor less fitted to become fathers if they marry. . . . A need which can be subject to such variations, an instinct which accommodates itself so well to lack of satisfaction, is neither a need nor an instinct."

Sexual relationship is far from answering to any physiological need of the growing boy; quite the contrary, it is perfect chastity which is sternly required by the exigencies of his normal growth and development, and those who violate it cause irreparable injury to their health. The attainment of puberty is accompanied by great changes, a veritable disturbance of various functions, and a general development. The adolescent boy needs all his vital strength, for during this period there is often a weakening of the resistance to sickness: disease and mortality are higher than in the earlier period. . . . The long work of general growth, of organic evolution, that whole series of physical and psychic changes, at the end of which the child becomes a man, involves a toilsome effort of nature. At that moment, all over-driving is dangerous, but especially the premature exercise of the sexual function.

Young India, 22-7-1926

196. HAND-SPINNING IN COCHIN

The Cochin Legislative Council passed a resolution last year recommending introduction of hand-spinning in the State schools. The resolution was carried and accepted by the Government. But, so far, evidently, nothing seems to have been done by the Education Department. I understand that this resolution will be the subject matter of discussion in the forthcoming session of the Cochin Legislative Council. It is to be hoped that some practical action will be taken upon the resolution or the resolution be rescinded. It is no use Legislative bodies passing resolutions and Governments accepting them if they are not meant to be carried out. Hand-spinning is one of those things which require constant and continuous effort, watching, organizing and experimenting. And those who introduce a hand-spinning resolution have to shape policy, suggest schemes and even assist in working them. Cochin, it seems, has 2 colleges, 35 high schools, 78 lower secondary schools, 369 State or State-aided primary schools, 289 unaided schools, 20 industrial schools, 13 night schools and 4 special schools instructing 1,08,158 boys and girls. Here there is much scope for popularizing spinning on a systematic scale.

Young India, 22-7-1926

197. LETTER TO NORMAN LEYS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I am obliged to you for your letter.[1] I would like you henceforward not to apologize for anything that you may say. I give you my assurance that I shall not misunderstand you.

The proof you have sent me I had in book form from some friend in London. It is a good and well-reasoned paper. I dealt with it at length in the pages of *Young India* sometime ago.

Now for your question. The position in India at the present moment is, in my opinion, only seemingly hopeless. And, it is

[1] For the text of this letter dated June 29, 1926, *vide* Appendix I.

hopeless not because the different parties have no coherent programme, but because no party has got the force of arms or any other at its back to vindicate its policy of the Government reject it as it has repeatedly rejected every party's programme. Let me remind you that the differences between the parties here, so far as the demands are concerned, are not of principles but of experience. If the Liberal Party pitches its demands low, it does so not because more cannot be digested, but because more cannot be obtained. But, if the Government were to grant all the demands of say the Swaraj Party, the other parties would join. This I say, apart, of course, from the communal trouble, of which I write later. Therefore, if the Independent Labour Party confers with the most forward party in India and evolves a constitution which is accepted by the Parliament, you will find all parties acclaiming it. So, if I were you and if I was called upon to guide or lead the Independent Labour Party, I would go to India, find out the forward party, confer with its leaders and then evolve a programme by which I would stick through thick and thin.

But the communal trouble does block the way. And again thinking in your terms, I would reason thus: 'These Indians—Hindus and Mussalmans—are fighting like cats and dogs amongst themselves, but they have neither the means nor the courage of fighting against my country which has wronged them in the past and which is still wronging them. I don't want to be a party to that wrong any longer. They will fight. That fight must end soon, if my country will not aggravate it and prolong it either consciously or unconsciously. I must have no communalism on the Statute-book. I would provide for all parties equal opportunities and I would have preference in education for weaker parties whether in numbers or otherwise. I would therefore make statutory provision for such preferential education.' If you approach the question with this mentality, you will not need agreement amongst all parties about communal representation, but you will deal with it along lines of substantial justice. This seems to me to be the only way of evolving a constitution in the present disturbed state of things.

Then there remains your last question. I do indeed think that the authorities are partly responsible for the communal dissensions. I know that primarily the fault is ours. If we were not disposed to quarrel, no outside power on earth could make us. But, when an outside power whose strength lies in our weakness notices our dissensions, it takes advantage of them consciously or unconsciously. Everyone in India knows this and feels the effect of it also.

Some honest British officials have not hesitated to make the admission before me and some have unguardedly betrayed themselves by making inconvenient admissions or remarks. But I must not labour this point. I am well aware that you can do nothing to remedy this evil even if you believed in it. The remedy lies entirely in our own hands. All that you can do is to give us, if you are in power, a good and workable constitution. But you will certainly not be able to control your agents here. The agents themselves know that they are agents only in name but in reality they are principals. I have before now described the Civil Service as a gigantic and most powerful secret corporation that the world has. Like the Masonic Brotherhood, it has got its signs and its unwritten language through which it corresponds with its members. Nor need this surprise anybody. It is impossible, without resort to dubious methods, for one hundred thousand men to live in the midst of three hundred million human beings and impose their rule and trade upon them against their will.

I think I have covered the full ground of your letter. I hope I am intelligible. I may not convince you of the positions I have taken up. I would gladly argue further, if you wish me to.

I thank you for the most careful and sympathetic manner in which you are approaching this important question which is one of life and death to us.[1]

Yours sincerely,

DR. NORMAN LEYS
BRAILSFORD
NEAR DERBY

From a photostat: S.N. 12169

[1] Dr. Norman Leys replied to this letter on August 9 (S.N. 12170); *vide* Appendix II.

198. *LETTER TO E. STANLEY JONES*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter with your interesting notes for which I thank you. We were all so happy to have you in our midst. I only wish you could have stayed longer with us. Then, perhaps, you would have toned down some of the remarks you have made about the Ashram and revised your criticism about its becoming self-supporting. To make it self-supporting is not our aim so long as we undertake public education in the matter of the spinning-wheel, untouchability, etc.

The suggestion to build a pigeon loft was made by another friend also. We did not take it up because it was suggested that it would simply attract more pigeons without relieving us of their presence in the roof of our cottages. Have you tried the thing yourself with success?

I shall endeavour to go through the *Science of Power* which you have so kindly ordered for me.

I have developed the greatest disinclination for writing anything whatsoever. If I could suspend the papers I am editing, I would even do that. But it is a self-imposed task which I dare not shirk. You will, therefore, excuse me at least for the present if I do not write for the *Fellowship of the Friends of Jesus.*

Yours sincerely,

E. STANLEY JONES, ESQ.
SITAPUR, U. P.

From a photostat: S.N. 19673

199. LETTER TO A. B. GODREJ

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday, Asadha Sud 13, July 23, 1926

BHAISHRI GODREJ,

I have your letter. The letter about the loss of which I wrote to you was mislaid here. After it was finished the address was not entered and so the typist put it among unused postcards. I think it altogether improper that public money should be deposited in a Government bank. However, we have at present no facility of depositing our money in a place where it would be safe and yet beyond the control of the Government. Let us remember that we are not complete non-co-operators. We have non-co-operated only in spheres in which non-co-operation is possible. If we wish to have no connection with banks which are subject to Government's control, we should have nothing to do with currency. The truth is that, under an unjust Government, possession of money is a crime, but we remain committing it as it is inescapable.

SHRI A. B. GODREJ
NEAR GAS COMPANY
THE SAFE FACTORY
PAREL
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12209

200. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS P. ASAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday, Asadha Sud 13 [*July 23, 1926*][1]

CHI. LAKSHMIDAS,

You must have got my letter in which I wrote to you about Ramji. I send with this the reply I have received in the matter from Khushalbhai. After reading it, I have written to Ramji and advised him to be patient and, if necessary, to have an addi-

[1] The article by the addressee, referred to in the letter, appeared in *Navajivan*, 25-7-1926.

tional lavatory constructed. I get your letters regularly. I liked the argument you advanced to Ghanshyamdas. I cannot see how it can be improved upon. I will collect and send to you the information you have asked for respecting cotton. Your first article will appear in this week's issue of *Navajivan*. As you will see, I have omitted from it two short paragraphs and also made a minor correction.

JAYAJIRAO COTTON MILL
GWALIOR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12210

201. *LETTER TO PUNJABHAI SHAH*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 23, 1926

BHAI PUNJABHAI,

I wrote to Revashankerbhai on receipt of your message. I enclose with this his reply. When you are strong enough and can have someone to accompany you, you may go to Bombay for a day or two. I hope you are all right now.

SHRI PUNJABHAI HIRACHAND SHAH
OPPOSITE VIRCHAND DEEPCHAND LIBRARY
MANEKCHOWK
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12211

202. *LETTER TO GOPALRAO KULKARNI*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Saturday, Asadha Sud 14, July 24, 1926

BHAISHRI GOPALRAO,

I got a letter from you after a long interval. I was happy. Your decision to save money and use it as you intend to is worthy of you. Your diet, too, is the right one. I can suggest no improvement in it. I agree with you that we cannot put more pressure for the use of khadi than is being done. Tell the students that I

expect the alumni of Dakshinamurti to be perfect devotees of khadi and set an example to pupils in other schools. Anyone who fails, through carelessness, to bring his share of yarn should atone for his lapse by giving twice as much. If anyone refuses to do this, reason gently with him. I don't think it is necessary to do more than that. If you feel like travelling, you need not suppress the desire, but it is not necessary either to spend money for that purpose. The man who travels by rail observes, not more, but less, than the one who travels on foot. The reason which you have advanced for my undertaking a tour does not justify any expenditure at all. I am sure you know that Surendra toured on foot for a whole year, going as far as Uttarkashi. This is not to suggest that you should never travel by rail. You may certainly do that. Personally, I think that those who have adopted khadi as a matter of principle should not wear foreign cloth even when acting on the stage and even though such cloth might be offered them as a gift. By wearing such cloth, they increase its importance. The use of foreign cloth for costumes on the stage implies that there is one occasion on which its use is absolutely necessary. Those who go to theatres are generally pleasure-loving people. More likely than not, they have never heard about khadi. By using foreign cloth for the purpose of costumes, we miss the only opportunity of awakening love of khadi in such persons. You may certainly stay there as long as it suits you. I am glad that you wrote to me.

SHRI G. KULKARNI
DAKSHINAMURTI
BHAVNAGAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12213

203. LETTER TO MAGANLAL SUNDERJI

THE ASHRAM,
July 24, 1926

BHAISHRI MAGANLAL SUNDERJI,

I got your letter. I think that in any temple which we may visit, we should perform worship which is in harmony with the atmosphere of the place. It seems to me improper, therefore, to see Mahadev in the image of Krishna in a temple dedicated to His worship.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

C/o SHRI DHIRAJLAL LAKSHMICHAND CHOKSI
MANDAVI CHOWK
RAJKOT

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19936

204. LETTER TO VITHALBHAI J. PATEL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 25, 1926

DEAR VITHALBHAI,

I have your letters with cheques in all amounting to Rs. 7,575, being a portion of your three months' salary as the Speaker of the Assembly together with the balance of the purse of Rs. 5,000 presented to you.[1] You have asked me to spend the amount for 'an object calculated to promote the national welfare in such manner as I may approve'. Since writing that letter, you have discussed with me personally your views about the use of your handsome donation. I have been taxing myself as to what I should really do, and I have finally come to the decision to let the amount accumulate for the present. And I am therefore depositing the money in the agency account of the Ashram for six months certainly, so as to get a fair interest. And as soon as party feeling has eased, I propose to invite the co-operation of a few

[1] For earlier correspondence on the subject, *vide* Vol. XXX.

mutual friends and then in consultation with you and them to use the money for some commendable national purpose.

Meanwhile, I tender my congratulations for the generous spirit which has actuated you in parting with a large portion of your salary for a public object. Let me hope that your example will prove infectious.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. VITHALBHAI J. PATEL
SUKHADELE
SIMLA

From a photostat: S.N. 11321; also *Young India*, 17-3-1927

205. LETTER TO VITHALBHAI J. PATEL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 25, 1926

DEAR VITHALBHAI,

Almost every day I have been obliged to put off this enclosed little letter[1]. Something or other has come in to postpone it. If you approve of the tenor of the letter, please telegraph and I shall publish copies of your first letter and mine. If you have any alterations to suggest, absence of any telegram from you I shall regard as a warning not to publish the correspondence and shall await your suggestions.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. VITHALBHAI PATEL
SIMLA

From a photostat: S.N. 11322

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

206. *LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Asadha Sud 15, 1982 [*July 25, 1926*]

CHI. RAMDAS,

I have your letter. My impression is that no letter of yours has remained unanswered. Maybe I have not replied to your last letter, I am not sure if I did. But I am under the impression that I replied to that letter too. I have fully understood what you say about agriculture. I do not mean that every rich man ill-treats his labourers. What you have observed in Kathiawar is certainly found in many other places, too, but the vast majority carry on their farming in the manner I have described. That of course does not mean that in agriculture the labourer cannot but be exploited. A well-informed cultivator who has had long experience of farming can successfully carry on and earn enough for his purpose, even if he pays his labourers generously. I think that such a person would need adequate capital; that has been my experience and others' too.

Send me as soon as you can all the information in regard to khadi which I have requested people through *Navajivan* to supply to me. Send me a short note on your own experiences.

Harilal has been here for the last three days. It is not certain at the moment how long he will remain. Have you signed the document respecting the house in Rajkot? If you have not signed it already, consult me before you do. It seems to me that your aunt's position needs to be strengthened still further. If that has been done, there is no harm in your signing the document.

Pattani Saheb was here for four or five days and left the day before yesterday.

SHRI RAMDAS GANDHI
KHADI KARYALAYA
AMRELI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12214

207. LETTER TO KAKU

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 25, 1926

CHI. KAKU,

At last Harilal has arrived here. I had got your telegram. I had expected that I would be informed when he was likely to arrive. I did not send anyone to the station on Tuesday. No one was expecting Harilal when he arrived. I continue to get letters from aunt telling me of her anxieties. She does not trust you. She wants some definite arrangement to be made. I, therefore, think that you should put out the rent at interest and arrange the interest to be paid to her. This will be a convenient arrangement for all you brothers and will also reassure aunt. Alternatively, take a house on long lease in her name and let her live in it. Adopt whichever course you like, but I want you to do something to relieve her anxieties. It was only from Harilal that I knew that you had been here and stayed with Jivanlal.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12215

208. LETTER TO BALVANTRAI B. MANIYAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Asadha Sud 15, July 25, 1926

BHAISHRI BALVANTRAI,

I have your letter.

I understand your position better now. First of all, you should explain everything clearly to your brother and wife, though, before you do that, you should visit the Ashram and acquaint yourself with the conditions here. The Ashram is open to Bhangis. Just now, there are two *Antyaja* children living in it, and all the inmates have their meals together. The *Antyaja* children are permitted to enter the kitchen and also help in the cooking. Everyone cleans his own lavatory; that is, no inmate can refuse to do this work. The inmates spend most of their time in

body labour. All this may be acceptable to you, but you should also ascertain whether it will be acceptable to your brother and wife. Even if they say that it will be, you should take no step till you have observed the conditions for yourself and have had some experience of living here.

I have also observed that people who cannot preserve cleanliness in unclean surroundings do not do much better even when they go to live in what they suppose to be clean surroundings. The saying, "If we ourselves are good, the whole world is good", is worth pondering over. Do not, therefore, assume that you will be safe once you are here, nor that everyone who lives here is or has become pure. In every house, the oven is made of earth.[1] All that can be said about this place is that some of the inmates are striving hard for self-purification.

SHRI BALVANTRAI BHAGVANJI MANIYAR
NAGAR CHAKLA
JAMNAGAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12216

209. LETTER TO A. I. KAJEE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 26, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am exceedingly sorry that the letter addressed to you which was rather important went to Germany and that the German letter was sent to you. The only reparation I can now make is to send you a copy of my letter[2], which happily I possess.

I have read your letter to Mr. Andrews. Mr. Andrews will be in South Africa some time in October, I hope. I know you are having an anxious time. Everything that is humanly possible is being done here. But, as you have rightly pointed out in your letter to Mr. Andrews, we are ourselves to blame. I am still,

[1] A Gujarati saying
[2] This is not available.

however, hoping that something good will turn out as a result of the forthcoming Conference.

Yours sincerely,

A. I. KAJEE, ESQ.
GENERAL SECRETARY
S.A.I. CONGRESS
175, GREY STREET
DURBAN

From a microfilm: S.N. 12017

210. LETTER TO G. N. KANITKAR

Monday [July 26, 1926]

BHAI KANITKAR,

Herewith my message. I do not have time to write more.

MOHANDAS

[PS.]

You have not mentioned your address in the *Swavalamban*.

From a photostat of the Hindi: C.W. 958. Courtesy: G. N. Kanitkar

211. MESSAGE TO MAHARASHTRA[1]

SABARMATI,
Monday, Asadha Krishna 1 [July 26, 1926]

I can never give up the hopes I cherish of Maharashtra and Maharashtrians. The Maharashtra which has always taught the motherland the lessons of self-sacrifice and learning will never be indifferent to the poor man's charkha and khadi. I have said that in the *mantra*[2] "swaraj is my birth-right", which the Lokamanya taught the country, he supplied the first half of the *shloka*[3], and that I supplied the second half by saying that the charkha

[1] The occasion for this message appears to have been the death anniversary of Lokamanya Tilak. An English version appeared in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 2-8-1926.

[2] A sacred formula

[3] Couplet or stanza in Sanskrit

and khadi are the means of winning swaraj. When will Maharashtra take the first place among those who accept this means?

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 960. Courtesy: G. N. Kanitkar

212. LETTER TO GANGADHARRAO DESHPANDE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 27, 1926

MY DEAR GANGADHARRAO,

I have your very full letter about your activities. I trace in that letter signs of both hope and despair. There is no cause whatsoever for despair. If our experiment is thorough, i.e., only in accordance with the fundamentals, there never need be the slightest cause for despair.

Idleness has taken possession of the poor, because they have lost all interest in living. They will begin to take interest only after we have worked in their midst for [a] sufficiently long time. We may wait for full effect even for ages if we are satisfied that our way is the *only* way of solving the problem of the masses. It is because of our unbelief and impatience that often we run from remedy to remedy, nothing takes root and the position goes from bad to worse.

About the disinclination of the weavers to weave hand-spun yarn, there are two reasons. One is that our yarn is not as strong as mill yarn and the other is [that] the weavers are not satisfied that hand-weaving has come to stay. Time will give them the necessary faith and our application must improve the quality of the yarn. Day after day, we must insist upon the spinners giving us better yarn. We have to examine their spinning-wheels, correct their defects so as to enable the spinners to draw better yarn with greater rapidity. Within limits our wheels do admit of improvement.

We in the Ashram are carrying on experiments in improving the quality of yarn. We are testing it from fortnight to fortnight and the improvement made is really wonderful. I hope to publish figures about it.

I am going to make guarded and limited use of the information given by you in the pages of *Young India*. You will see the table that is being published this week. I would like you to

supply me with the information in accordance with the table. I would like to make that table exhaustive, giving details of every khadi-producing organization.[1]

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GANGADHARRAO DESHPANDE
BELGAUM

From a microfilm: S.N. 11209

213. LETTER TO SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 27, 1926

DEAR SURESH BABU,

I had your letter regarding the bank loan. I never received any letter mentioning the conditions proposed by the bank. I shall await the draft agreement with the bank. I take it that you will not close without the papers being first approved by the association. There will be no difficulty about the approval, but formal approval should be taken.

I want you to furnish me with information in accordance with the table you will see published in *Young India* this week. That table will be a mine of information for khadi-lovers and khadi-scoffers if all the organizations send the information required.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 11210

[1] Replying to this on August 4, the addressee wrote to dispel any impression that he despaired of his work, that he was convinced of theirs being the only way to solve the problem of the 'masses', that he would persist patiently in his work and carry out Gandhiji's suggestions (S.N. 11217).

[2] A copy of this letter was sent to the All-India Spinners' Association.

214. LETTER TO JANAKDHARI PRASAD

Tuesday [July 27, 1926][1]

DEAR JANAKDHARI BABU,

How should I forget you? Your letter though saddening is welcome. I shall deal with it in *Y.I.* Meanwhile consult Rajendra Babu and, if you find that you cannot usefully carry out the constructive programme, you may resign in a body. But this means that you will work away at the Congress organization whether you are one or many but only non-violently and truthfully. If you do not understand this and if time presses, elect your office-bearers. There is always time for resigning, if you cannot work satisfactorily. Let nothing be done in a hurry.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 59

215. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Asadha Vad 2, 1982 [July 27, 1926][2]

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Please remember that the 15th is the last date for paying the money to Girjashankar Joshi. I should get the sum before that date.

Yesterday, Lala Shyamlal of Hissar arrived with his wife. At the moment, there is no room in the Ashram in which the husband and the wife could be put up. The latter, therefore, has been accommodated in the room occupied by Janakidevi. The Lala seems to be well acquainted with you. Om took ill, and so she came down here. She is quite well now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2870

[1] This letter was acknowledged by the addressee on August 1, 1926. The preceding Tuesday was July 27.

[2] *Asadha Vad* 2 was a *kshaya,* i.e., lapsed date. July 27 corresponds to *Asadha Vad* 3.

216. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Asadha Vad [3][1] July 27, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I hope you are keeping fit. Do not make any changes in your diet. Those two volumes seem to have been carried away in your luggage when you left. If you find them there, kindly return them after you have read them. They belong to two different friends.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 3203. Courtesy: Mahesh P. Pattani; also G.N. 5889

217. LETTER TO JAGJIVAN TALEKCHAND DURBARI

July 27, 1926

Do you have any evidence to prove that the statement in the leaflets about the *mahajan*[2] having taken offence is correct? Do you have the original articles? If you have, kindly send them to me to read.

The agitation in regard to liquor-booths should be carried on in two ways: first, by appealing to the Durbar and secondly, by doing propaganda among the drink-addicts. You should plead with them earnestly. You should find out why people drink. You should mix with them and take interest in their lives. For this we require voluntary workers who are men of character.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 10970

[1] The source has 2.

[2] Representative body managing the affairs of a community or professional or business group. The addressee's letter to Gandhiji dated July 22, 1926 referred to two leaflets about the *mahajan* of Mangrol in Saurashtra.

218. LETTER TO RAMANLAL BHOGILAL CHINAI

ASHRAM,
July 27, 1926

BHAISHRI RAMANLAL,

I have your letter. If I go to China, I can stay only where my hosts put me up. You can certainly use khadi even there, if you wish to. If you cannot wear it when you go out, you can freely wear it at home and use it for other household purposes.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12192

219. LETTER TO NANABHAI BHATT

ASHRAM,
July 27, 1926

BHAISHRI NANABHAI,

I send with this a letter for your information and entertainment. I have given a suitable reply. Please return the letter, as I intend to answer some of the questions through *Navajivan* too.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12219

220. LETTER TO ANANDANAND

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 27, 1926

BHAISHREE ANANDANAND,

Enclosed is a letter from Venilal. Fix up an appointment with him on Saturday or Sunday, according to your convenience, so that the issue may be settled once for all. His suggestion that a copy of all entries in his account with us should be kept ready seems to me quite proper. Sunday 3 p.m. would be more convenient for me.

SHRI SWAMI
NAVAJIVAN KARYALAYA
AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12222

221. LETTER TO VIRASUTA TRIBHUVAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Asadha Vad [3][1], *July 27, 1926*

BHAISHRI VIRASUTA,

I have your letter. You are right when you say that the Mahavidyalaya has not yet reached a position where it can train workers for villages. We have still not been able to decide what changes to introduce which the students will welcome. I think we have made no mistake in appointing the *snatakas*[2] as teachers in the college. They do not find themselves in as miserable a condition as you think. I know that a *snataka* of even an ordinary calibre is able to earn enough for his living. My replies are always, from my point of view, practicable, but I can understand that they may not appeal to all. What else can a believer in the reality of soul-force say? If the students in hostels are pleasure-loving, who is to blame for that? What can the teachers do in that matter? It is for the students themselves to change their way of living. About reading the *Gita*, the *Ramayana* and other such books to children, my view differs from yours, and so I am helpless.

Henceforward, I intend to visit the Mahavidyalaya every Saturday. And there you may put to me any questions you like.

SHRI VIRASUTA TRIBHUVAN
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
USMANPURA
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12223

[1] The source has 2 but in the year 1926 *Asadha Vad* 2 had lapsed (*kshaya*) and Tuesday fell on *Asadha Vad* 3.

[2] Graduates of Gujarat Vidyapith

222. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL M. KAMDAR

THE ASHRAM,
July 27, 1926

BHAISHRI CHHOTALAL,

I have your letter. The present riots serve the cause of neither religion. So long as the two communities completely distrust each other, your plan of work will not succeed. It is a difficult job to persuade the sadhus to take up active work. No improvement can come so long as the prevailing idea—that giving alms to any beggar who comes along is an act of virtue—does not change. Such a change can come about only in the course of time. What I meant to say, and would say, was "things which we cannot, and need not produce, and against the import of which there can be no objection". Hence, cod-liver oil, wine, etc., are forbidden articles according to me, irrespective of whether they are produced or manufactured abroad or here. I do not object to the use of fat for lubricating machines.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI CHHOTALAL MOHANLAL KAMDAR
POST BOX NO. 389
RANGOON

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19937

223. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 28, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter with the valuable recipes for making soap.

I did get a letter from Hemaprabha Devi four days ago. I have not yet been able to reach my Hindi correspondence. As almost all my writing is done by dictation, sometimes one or the other lags behind. She must not get fever and must get rid of her boils. What can be the cause for the latter?

Utkal work is not being conducted from the Secretary's Office. Narayandas was attending to the extension of the correspondence that I entered upon in the first instance, which you will remember. But Narayandas has gone to Bombay to take stock of the two Bombay stores. As soon as he returns, I shall make further enquiries about it. In no case need there be any formal intimation because there is no question of taking Utkal responsibility off your shoulders.

Have the riots affected the sales all over Bengal, or is the effect confined only to Calcutta? When you have leisure, I would like you to give me your reading of the situation. What is at the bottom of the terrible mischief?

Yours,
BAPU

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 1560

224. *LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 28, 1926

MY DEAR SUNDRAM,

I have your weekly gift. Savitri must write from time to time and let me mark her progress in Hindi. Of course you are an "old boy". I shall look forward to your coming during the cold weather.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3195

225. LETTER TO DR. MURARILAL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 28, 1926

DEAR DR. MURARILAL,

Miss Mithubehn Petit of the Rashtriya Stree Mandal of Bombay tells me that she sent on terms [*sic*] khadi fancy goods for sale at the Exhibition during the Congress Week. She has been writing repeatedly rendering accounts but no reply has been received by her. Will you kindly attend to this matter? She ought not to be kept without funds indefinitely.

This association is run by philanthrophic ladies. No profits are made by them and every pice goes into the hands of the poor women who are working at producing fancy designs, etc. Apart, however, from the fact that this is a purely philanthropic work, we should not ourselves be unbusinesslike and not carry out obligations. I understand that the whole of the contract between the Stree Mandal and the Exhibition Committee is reduced to writing.

Yours sincerely,

DR. MURARILAL
CAWNPORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 11211

226. LETTER TO W. H. WISER

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 28, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Though I know Olive Schreiner extremely well, I am sorry to confess that I do not know anything of what Mr. Teo Schreiner wrote about her. But now that you

have mentioned this work, I am writing to a friend in South Africa to enquire and send.

Yours sincerely,

W. H. WISER, ESQ.
MAINPURI
U.P.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19674

227. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 28, 1926

I am glad you agree with me about your South African article.[1] I did not want to weary you with your opium article, because there was nothing wrong with it as the South African.

I am sure this rest from constant mental toil of writing will do you much good. We shall all be looking forward to your coming here in September. Devdas is still in Mussoorie where he is doing well and is also helping Punditji.

Yours,

REV. C. F. ANDREWS
SHANTINIKETAN

From a photostat: S.N. 19675

228. LETTER TO SIR HAROLD MANN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 28, 1926

MY DEAR SIR HAROLD MANN,

There is, I observe, a technological laboratory at Matunga under your charge. Will you kindly send me a note of introduction to the Superintendent of the laboratory for our manager, Maganlal K. Gandhi, who is a cousin of mine. He would like

[1] The reference is to Gandhiji's observations in his letter to the addressee dated July 20.

to go there and study the different instruments for testing cotton, yarn, etc.

Yours sincerely,

SIR HAROLD MANN
DIRECTOR OF AGRICULTURE
B.P., POONA

From a photostat: S.N. 19676

229. *LETTER TO HEMAPRABHADEVI DAS GUPTA*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Asadha Krishna 4 [*July 28, 1926*]

DEAR SISTER,

I got your letter four days ago. I was much concerned to read that you were having fever and had an attack of chicken-pox. I hope you are all right now.

I love teaching people to spin, but I fear that, if you go on working all the time beyond your capacity, you will continue to lose strength. My condition with you, therefore, is that you should work only as much as you can while taking due care of your health. The substance of what I have been saying on the *Gita* in my discourses is likely to be published in Hindi, sooner or later. But that will take some time. We should never forget that it is our dharma to take proper care of our body.

BAPU

SMT. HEMAPRABHADEVI
CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1648; also S.N. 12224

230. LETTER TO PANACHAND SHAH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Asadha Vad 4, July 28, 1926

BHAISHRI PANACHAND,

I have your letter. The receipt for the contribution towards cow-protection work is enclosed. The names of the contributors have already been published in *Navajivan*. I was happy to learn about the conditions there. It would be very good if we could persuade people to take up spinning again.

If anything has been published about standards in national schools, I shall send you the literature. I shall also send you the list of text-books if any such list has been prepared. People should learn to make slivers there. Bhagavanji knows the process very well. You may take his help. If you cannot get there khadi made from hand-spun yarn, you should order it from here.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10972-a

231. LETTER TO A. B. GODREJ

THE ASHRAM,
July 28, 1926

BHAISHRI GODREJ,

I have your letter. Generally, trust funds are not used for advancing loans to private parties. As a trustee, Jamnalalji cannot advance loans from the trust fund in the way he might as a private individual to another individual, and that only to a friend. This is but right, as the experience of the world tells us. A donor must not regret, when in need of money, that he cannot draw upon the amount which he has given as donation. He should not even wish that he might be able to do so.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

NEAR GAS COMPANY
SAFE FACTORY
PAREL
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12217

232. THE HYDRA-HEADED MONSTER

A friend has sent me a gist of what appears in the Southern vernacular press from the pen of a learned Pundit. He summarizes the Pundit's plea for untouchability in this fashion:

> (1) The fact that once Adi-Shankara asked a *Chandala* to be aloof from him, and the fact that Trishanku when he was condemned to be a *Chandala* was shunned by all people, prove that untouchability is not of recent growth.
>
> (2) The *Chandalas* are the outcastes of the Aryan society.
>
> (3) The untouchables themselves are not free from the sin of untouchability.
>
> (4) The untouchables are so because they kill animals and because they have constantly to do with flesh, blood, bones and night-soil.
>
> (5) The untouchables must be isolated even as slaughter-houses, toddy-shops and houses of ill fame are or should be.
>
> (6) It should be enough that untouchables are not denied the privileges of the other world.
>
> (7) A Gandhi may touch these people, but so can he fast. We may neither fast nor touch the untouchables.
>
> (8) Untouchability is a necessity for man's growth.
>
> (9) Man has magnetic powers about him. This *sakti* is like milk. It will be damaged by improper contacts. If one can keep musk and onion together, one may mix Brahmans and untouchables.

These are the chief points summarized by the correspondent. Untouchability is a hydra-headed monster. It is therefore necessary, each time the monster lifts its head, to deal with it. The stories told in the *Puranas* are some of them most dangerous if we do not know their bearing on the present conditions. The Shastras would be death-traps if we were to regulate our conduct according to every detail given in them or according to that of the characters therein described. They help us only to define and argue out fundamental principles. If some well-known character in religious books sinned against God or man, is that a warrant for our repeating the sin? It is enough for us to be told, once for all, [that] *Truth* is the only thing that matters in the world, that *Truth* is God. It is irrelevant to be told that even Yudhishthira was betrayed into an untruth. It is more relevant for us to know that when he spoke an untruth, he had to suffer for it that very moment and that his great name in no way pro-

tected him from punishment. Similarly, it is irrelevant for us to be told that Adi-Shankara avoided a *Chandala*. It is enough for us to know that a religion that teaches us to treat all that lives as we treat ourselves cannot possibly countenance the inhuman treatment of a single creature, let alone a whole class of perfectly innocent human beings. Moreover, we have not even all the facts before us to judge what Adi-Shankara did or did not do. Still less do we know the meaning of the word *Chandala* where it occurs. It has admittedly many meanings, one of which is a sinner. But if all sinners are to be regarded as untouchables, it is very much to be feared that we should all, not excluding the Pundit himself, be under the ban of untouchability. That untouchability is an old institution, nobody has ever denied. But, if it is an evil, it cannot be defended on the ground of its antiquity.

If the untouchables are the outcastes of the Aryan society, so much the worse for that society. And, if the Aryans at some stage in their progress regarded a certain class of people as outcastes by way of punishment, there is no reason why that punishment should descend upon their progeny irrespective of the causes for which their ancestors were punished.

That there is untouchability even amongst untouchables merely demonstrates that that evil cannot be confined and that its deadening effect is all-pervading. The existence of untouchability amongst untouchables is an additional reason for cultured Hindu society to rid itself of the curse with the quickest despatch.

If the untouchables are so because they kill animals and because they have to do with flesh, blood, bones and night-soil, every nurse and every doctor should become an untouchable and so should Christians, Mussalmans and all so-called high-class Hindus who kill animals for food or sacrifice.

The argument that because slaughter-houses, toddy-shops, and houses of ill fame are or should be isolated, untouchables should likewise be isolated betrays gross prejudice. Slaughter-houses and toddy-shops are and should be isolated. But neither butchers nor publicans are isolated. Prostitutes should be isolated because their occupation is revolting and detrimental to the well-being of society. Whereas the occupation of 'untouchables' is not only desirable but a necessity for the well-being of the society.

To say that 'untouchables' are not denied privileges of the other world is the acme of insolence. If it was possible to deny them the privileges of the other world, it is highly likely that the defenders of the monster would isolate them even in the other world.

It is throwing dust in the eyes of the people to say that 'a Gandhi may touch the "untouchables", not so other people,' as if the touching and service of 'untouchables' was so injurious as to require for it men specially proof against untouchable germs. Heaven only knows what punishment is in store for Mussalmans, Christians and others who do not believe in untouchability.

The plea of animal magnetism is altogether overdone. The high-class men are not all sweet-smelling like musk, nor are untouchables foul-smelling like onion. There are thousands of untouchables who are any day infinitely superior to the so-called high-class people.

It is painful to discover that even after five years of continuous propaganda against untouchability, there are learned people enough found to support such an immoral and evil custom. That belief in untouchability can co-exist with learning in the same person adds no status to untouchability, but makes one despair of mere learning being any aid to character or sanity.

Young India, 29-7-1926

233. *REASON* v. *AUTHORITY*

The teacher who taught his pupils to spin because it was "Mahatmaji's order" writes:

> On reading your article on "Mahatmaji's order" in *Young India* dated 24th June 1926, the following doubts have arisen in my mind:
>
> You assign a great place to reason. Have you not also written in the pages of *Young India* or *Navajivan* that reason is like the King of England entirely in the hands of its ministers the senses. Does not man often reason in the direction the senses guide him? How then can you take reason to be the guide? Have you not said that argument follows conviction? If then one has not the heart to spin, one will find reasons against spinning. How far is it advisable to tax the reason of little children? That great educational reformer Rousseau said that childhood was the sleep of reason. He therefore advocated merely the teaching of good habits during that age. And surely to teach children to obey the orders of a Mahatma especially when they involve physical labour is to cultivate a good habit. When the children grow up, they will find out the reasons for spinning. But is it wrong till then to inculcate that spirit of 'blind hero-worship' as you prefer to call it? Have we not made a fetish of reason in these days? For simple little things we undergo long and laborious processes of reasoning and do not even then feel

satisfied. Reason, no doubt, has its place, but, surely much below the rank that we now give it.

It is wrong to quote a person against himself unless one is sure of what he has said and under what circumstances. All the statements the correspondent ascribes to me have undoubtedly been made by me at some time or other, but under totally different circumstances. Where it is perfectly possible to reason out a thing to the satisfaction even of children, there is no occasion for quoting authority and asking them to obey it. Very often it is a misleading process. Everyone has his likes and dislikes. And when a man has begun to believe in a hero, he gives his reason the go-by and makes of his hero a fetish. This, I consider, is blind hero-worship. Hero-worship is a fine quality. No nation or individual can make progress who has no hero for their model. The hero serves as an inspiration. He makes action possible which, in our weakness, is otherwise impossible. He helps us out of the Slough of Despond. The memory of his deeds enables us to go through endless sacrifice. But, he must not be allowed to warp our judgment and paralyse our reason. The sayings and actions of the tallest among us must bear a most searching scrutiny, for, heroes are mortals. They are as liable to mistakes as the weakest among us. Their strength lies in their decision and power for action. They are therefore terrible when they make mistakes. They bring woe to the man or the nation that go in for blind hero-worship and slavishly accept all the acts and sayings of their heroes without question. Blind hero-worship is, therefore, worse than blind worship of reason. Indeed, blind worship of reason is a misnomer.

But the correspondent's warning about reason serves one useful purpose. Seeing that reason in the vast majority of cases is the only guide to conduct, we must have for her pure and obedient ministers. The senses must therefore be brought under control and subjected to the severest discipline so that they may be willing instruments in the hands of reason instead of reason being their helpless slave.

The reason of little children is, no doubt, asleep, but, a vigilant teacher would gently coax it and, waking it, teach the children habits of discipline so that their reason, being freed from the control of their senses, would become from the very childhood their guide. It is no discipline to tell the children to follow a hero. No habit is cultivated thereby. The children who are taught to slavishly do things become sluggish. And if perchance another schoolmaster displaces from the throne of their hearts the

hero presented to them by his predecessor, they are likely to become unhinged and useless in after-life. Whereas, if from the very commencement whatever is placed before them is reasoned out for them, and then examples of great men having done noble deeds placed before them to strengthen their resolve or support their reason, they are likely to develop into strong hardy citizens who, under difficult circumstances, will be able to render a good account of themselves.

Young India, 29-7-1926

234. THE ALL-INDIA TILAK MEMORIAL FUND

The Honorary Treasurers have issued an exhaustive statement of the All-India Tilak Memorial Fund[1] up to the end of 30th September, 1925. The statement is audited by Messrs Dalal and Shah. The auditors who are Incorporated Accountants (London) state:

> We visited all the Provincial Committees except the C.P. (Hindustani), C.P. (Marathi), Berar, Burma and Assam Committees. Although we visited the Kerala Provincial Committee, the Accounts being not ready at the time of our visit, we could not examine same. The Accounts, however, of the C.P. (Hindustani), Berar, Assam and Burma Provincial Congress Committees have been forwarded by the Secretaries duly audited by the auditors to these Committees and are annexed herewith.
>
> We have verified the Investments and Securities on hand. We could not however verify the cash on hand as we visited the centres some time after the close of the year.
>
> It will be seen that this year also many Committees have failed to prepare Balance Sheets and Income and Expenditure Accounts, and have submitted only Receipts and Disbursements Statements. In many cases we found that, as no balances of Assets and Liabilities from previous periods are being brought forward, it was not possible for Balance Sheets to be prepared. Receipts and Disbursements Statements would not in the absence of Balance Sheets show the state of affairs of Committees from year to year. Assets are likely to be lost sight of this way.
>
> Khadi Departments, according to a resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, have been separated in some cases. In the case of other Committees they will be, we are informed, transferred this year to the Provincial Bodies of the All-India Spinners' Association.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXVIII.

Large amounts have been invested in the Khadi Departments of the various Committees, but we find that a considerable part of these amounts is irrecoverable and does not represent anything in the form of Assets or Stock in hand. These amounts or the part of amounts not represented by any realizable Assets and irrecoverable should be written off. In this connection we did draw the attention of the Committees concerned at the time of our visit.

Also, advances to workers and District Committees which are not recoverable or are by way of allowances not repayable should be written off to revenue, and not shown as Assets, as is done in several cases.

A combined statement showing Receipts and Disbursements of all the Provincial Committees has been prepared by the All-India Treasurer's office and is included herein.

As to the system of Accounts we intend addressing a separate letter, and hope that the suggestions made will be carried out from the current year.

The present statement is quite apart from the statement previously issued of the Tilak Memorial Fund from its foundation. The present statement brings up the accounts to-date not only [those] in charge of the All-India Congress Committee but also [those] of the Provincial Congress Committees. The Balance Sheet gives the position up to 30th November 1925.

It is to be hoped that the instructions of the auditors will be carried out by the Provincial Committees. Nothing can more secure the stability of the Congress Organization than the accuracy with which the finances are kept by the Central as well as the Provincial offices. There are, in the statement which contains 64 foolscap folios, accurately kept and certified Accounts by various Provincial Congress Committees. Those who are interested in the Congress finances cannot do better than to secure a copy from Sjt. Revashanker Jagjivan Zaveri, Hon. Treasurer, A.I.C.C., Zaveri Bazar, Bombay by sending two annas postal stamp per copy.

Young India, 29-7-1926

235. 'TOWARDS MORAL BANKRUPTCY'-V

After dealing with the physiological benefit of chastity, M. Bureau quotes the following passage from Professor Montegazza on its moral and intellectual advantages:

> "All men, and young men in particular, can experience the immediate benefit of chastity. The memory is quiet and tenacious, the brain lively and fertile, the will energetic, the whole character gains a strength of which libertines have no conception; no prism shows us our surroundings under such heavenly colours as that of chastity; which lights up with its rays the least objects in the universe, and transports us into the purest joys of an abiding happiness that knows neither shadow nor decline." And the author adds: "The joy, the cordial merriment, the sunny confidence of vigorous young men who have remained chaste . . . are an eloquent contrast to the restless obsessions and feverish excitement of their companions who are slaves to the demands of sensuality." He then compares the benefits of chastity with 'the miserable consequences of lust and debauchery'. "No disease," the author states, "could ever be quoted as the result of continence; who is not aware of the frightful diseases of which moral indiscipline is the source?" "The body . . . finds itself converted into an indescribable state of rottenness. . . . Nor can we forget the worse defilement of imagination, heart and understanding. On every side we hear complaint of the lowering of the character, the unbridled lust of youth, the overflowing of selfishness."

So much for the so-called necessity of sexual indulgence and the consequent liberty taken by the youth before marriage. The protagonists of the doctrine of such indulgence further contend that restraint of the sexual passion is a restraint upon 'the freedom to dispose of one's body'. The author shows by elaborate argument that restraint on individual freedom in the matter of sexual indulgence is a sociological and psychological necessity. The author says,

> In the eyes of sociologists, social life is nothing but a net-work of multiform relations, nothing but an interlacing of actions and reactions, in the midst of which an activity, isolated and really separated from the rest, is unthinkable. On whatever step we resolve, whatever action we attempt, solidarity unites our resolution and our action to those of our brothers; and not even our most secret thought or most fugitive wish fails of an echo so distant that the mind is for ever incapable of measuring the distance. The social quality is not, in man, an adventitious

or merely accessory quality: it is immanent, part of his humanity itself; he is a social being because he is a man. There is no other field of our activity so truly our own: physiology and morality, economics and politics, the intellectual and aesthetic domains, the religious and the social, are all conditioned by a universal system of mysterious bonds and undefined relations. The bond is so firm, the net so closely meshed, that sometimes the sociologist stands in real trouble before this immensity which unfolds itself before him, across all time and space; he measures in one glance how great, under certain circumstances, is the responsibility of the individual, and how he risks becoming petty by a liberty which some social circles might be tempted to grant him.

The author further says,

If we can say that under certain circumstances I am not at liberty to spit in the street . . . how can I claim the much more important right of disposing of my sexual energy as I like? Does that energy by a unique privilege escape the universal law of solidarity? Who does not see, on the contrary, that the sovereign importance of the function only increases the social reaction of the individual acts? Look at this young man and this girl who have just established that false union of which the reader knows the character; they are persuaded that the agreement concerns nobody but themselves. They shut themselves up in their independence, and pretend to believe that their intimate and secret action has no interest for society and is altogether beyond its control. A childish illusion! The social solidarity which unites the people of one nation, and, beyond the individual nations, all humanity, finds no difficulty in passing through all walls, even those of the secret chambers, and a terrible interrelation joins that supposed private action to the most distant series of actions in that social life which it helps to disorganize. Whether he wills it or not, every individual who asserts his right to temporary or sterile sexual relations, who claims the liberty to use the reproductive energy with which he is endowed merely for his own enjoyments, spreads in society the germs of division and disorder. All, deformed as they are by our selfishness and our disloyalties, our social institutions still take for granted that the individual will accept with goodwill the obligations inherent in the satisfaction of the reproductive appetite. It is by discounting this acceptance that society has built up its countless mechanisms of labour and property, of wages and inheritance, of taxation and military service, of the right of parliamentary suffrage and civil liberties. By his refusal to take his share the individual disorganizes everything at one stroke, he violates the social pact in its very essence, and while he makes the burden heavier on others' shoulder, he is no better than an exploiter and a para-

> site, a thief and a swindler. We are responsible in the face of society for our physiological energy, as for all our energies, and, it might be said, even more than for all the others, since a society unarmed and almost wholly without external pressure, is obliged to remit to our goodwill the care to use that energy judiciously, and conformably to the social good.

The author is equally strong on the psychological ground:

> It was said long ago that liberty is in appearance an alleviation, in reality a burden. That is precisely its grandeur. Liberty binds and compels; it increases the sum of the efforts which each is bound to make. The invidual desires to be free, he is all inflamed with the longing to realize himself in the expansion of his autonomy. The programme seems simple enough, and yet his first experiences are enough to show him its painful complexity. It is in vain that unity is the dominating characteristic of our nature and our moral life; we feel within us various and contradictory impulses; in each of them we are conscious of ourselves, and yet everything proves to us that we must choose between them. You say, young man, that you wish to live your own life, to realize yourself, we ask with the great pedagogue, Foerster: Which is the better part, that which has its seat in the centre of your intellectual force, or that which occupies the lowest, the sensual, part of your nature? If it is true that progress in the individual and in society consists in a growing spiritualization and in the ever more complete mastery of spirit over matter, the choice cannot be doubtful, but there must still be energy to act, and the undertaking is not an easy one. Perhaps you will reply: But I do not choose. I wish to realize my being in one harmonious and organized whole. Very well; but take care this very resolution is a choice, for harmony is only established at the cost of strife. *Sterbe und Werde*, die and become, said Goethe, and the words are but the echo of others spoken nineteen centuturies ago by Christ, "Amen, I say to you, unless the grain of wheat falling into the ground die, it remaineth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."
>
> "We wish to be men—an easy thing to say," writes Mr. Gabriel Seailles, "but the right turns into duty, stern duty, in which no one does not fail more or less; we wish to be free, we announce it with a menacing air; if we call liberty doing as we like, the slavery of instinct; we need not be so proud of it; if we are speaking of the true liberty, let us gird up our loins and prepare ourselves for the unending fight. We talk about our unity, our identity, our liberty, and proudly conclude that we are immortal sons of God. Alas! if we only try to seize this Self, it escapes our grasp, it resolves itself into a multitude of incoherent beings which deny each other, it is rent by contradictory desires which in turn constitute itself, it is wholly (its own essential being excepted)

the prejudice to which it submits, the objects which tempt it; its pretended liberty is nothing but a slavery which does not feel, so does not resist.

"While continence is a virtue full of repose, incontinence opens the door to an unknown guest who may become formidable. The revelation of passion, which is troublesome at any age, may become in youth the signal of a radical perversion, we would say of an irreparable disturbance of the balance of the will and the senses. The boy who has contact for the first time with any woman whatsoever, as a passing encounter, is really playing with his physical, intellectual, and moral life; he does not know but it will be the same tomorrow in the family, at work, in social life; he does not know how the sensual revelation will come back to haunt him, what servitude without hope may represent the too exact term of "mastery"; and we know of more than one life ruined after a beginning of richest promise, the first disappointments of which dated from the first moral fall.

"The celebrated verses of the poet echo these remarks of the philosopher:

Man's virgin soul is as a vessel deep;
If the first drops inpoured should tainted be.
Across the soul all ocean's waves may sweep,
Yet fail that vast abyss from stain to free.

And, not less, this advice of the great British physiologist, John G. M. Kendrick, Professor of Physiology at Glasgow University:

"The illicit satisfaction of nascent passion is not only a moral fault, it is a terrible injury to the body. The new need becomes a tyrant if yielded to; a guilty complacency will listen to it, and make it more imperious; every fresh act will forge a new link in the chain of habit.

"Many have no longer strength to break it, and helplessly end in physical and intellectual ruin, slaves of a habit contracted often through ignorance rather than perversity. The best safeguard consists in cultivating within oneself purity of thought and discipline of one's whole being."

M. Bureau adds to the foregoing the following from Dr. Franck:

"As to sexual desire, we assert that the intelligence and the will have absolute control over it. It is necessary to employ the term *sexual desire*, not *need*, for there is no question of a function, the non-accomplishment of which is incompatible with existence. Really, it is not a need at all; but many men are persuaded that it is. The interpretation they give to the desires makes them look on co-habitation as absolutely necessary. Now we cannot look on the sexual act as resulting from senile and passive obedience to natural laws; we are, on the contrary, concerned with a

voluntary act, following on a determination or an acquiescence, ofte premeditated and prepared for."

Young India, 29-7-1926

236. *REWARD OF EARNESTNESS*

The head master of the national school, Dondaicha, We: Khandesh, writes:[1]

This report shows clearly what earnestness can do. Th school with 150 students was no more national than any othe school would be on the mere ground of not being under th Government. A school to be national must satisfy the definitio given by the Congress. In accordance with it, among othe things, it must have spinning in it and the boys and girls mus wear khadi. They must also have Hindi as their second lang uage. But many schools are falsely called national althoug they do not carry out any of the conditions laid down by th Congress. The head master therefore deserves congratulations fo his having introduced spinning and khadi. I hope that the schoc board will support his effort. He will bear in mind the fact tha spinning to be successful must include carding by the boys. Un less they know all the preceding processes, they cannot be calle spinners in the true sense.

Young India, 29-7-1926

237. *NOTES*

To 'Some Bengali Ladies'

If you had given me your names and addresses, I would have sent you a full and prompt reply. You ask me to deal with a most delicate matter in the pages of *Young India*. I am sorry, I cannot do so. If the facts are as you have stated, there is, no doubt, something radically wrong somewhere. You have evidently written from hearsay. You should have supplied me with facts and given me your addresses so as to enable me to correspond with you and gain supplementary information. I invite you still to do so.

[1] This is not reproduced here. The correspondent had given an account of his success in popularizing *takli*-spinning among the students and teachers of the school who had lost all interest in it.

INDUSTRIOUS SPINNING

A correspondent writes saying that a trader's wife in Pachora (Maharashtra) spun 34 lbs. of yarn in 9 months, spinning at the rate of 5 hours per day in addition to doing all her household work. The count spun was between 7 and 8. Carding was done by the husband. His yearly expense for clothing was Rs. 150; whereas, after the introduction of spinning in the household, it has gone down to Rs. 50. This is evidently due to getting rid of superfluous clothing.

WHY HE SPINS

A lawyer friend, whom I congratulated upon the evenness of his yarn, although he is a novice in spinning, writes:

> Let me not leave you under the impression that I have taken to spinning from any patriotic or philanthrophic motives. Seeing . . . spinning constantly at . . . in 1925, I started doing it with, as we lawyers usually say, entirely an ulterior object. I regret to say I failed to achieve it and I am convinced that however long I may continue to spin I shall not gain my object in the future. But from the day I started spinning, I have acquired a great liking for it. I find it is a real sedative for a troubled mind and I have therefore continued it and will continue it. And as I do not like to spin just mechanically and aimlessly, I am troubling you to help me to improve my production. May I add that I have always looked upon your advocacy of the charkha as the only means, both practical and cheap, of raising our helpless masses from their present deplorable condition?

Young India, 29-7-1926

238. LETTER TO PAN-ASIATIC SOCIETY, PEKING

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 29, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Whilst doing whatever I can to promote brotherly feelings amongst all the different nations, I am chary of belonging to any association which I do not know intimately. An Asiatic Federation will be a federation of one physically strong race and other physically weak races. Much though there is to admire in the Japanese progress, you will pardon me for saying that I am not enamoured of it. I am engaged in demonstrating that it is

possible to overcome the excesses of physical strength by matching against it, if such a conjunction of ideas is permissible, spiritual strength. You will, therefore, please excuse me for not joining your movement.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Pan-Asiatic Society
70, EAST 488
PEKING

From a photostat: S.N. 10786

239. LETTER TO H. KALLENBACH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 29, 1926

Of course you rarely write to me and I do likewise. I always expect to see you in person almost every mail since someone or other continues to tell me you are coming. I am expecting you to falsify the proverb that threatening clouds never rain.

I write this letter, however, to ask you to procure for me two copies of a book written by Teo Schreiner giving an account of Olive Schreiner. An English friend, thinking that I would know all about this work, asks me if I know it and if I can procure it for him. I was ashamed to tell him that I knew nothing about the work, but have promised to enquire about it and naturally thought of you.

I am immersed in my own work. At the present moment it is all in the Ashram and about the Ashram. I take three classes daily on *Bhagavad Gita* and *Ramayana*. The work pleases me. Spinning, of course, is done with religious punctuality and the balance of the time is used to editing the two papers and attending to correspondents. We have now established a council for the management of the Ashram. This takes up a vast amount of time.

Yours sincerely,

KALLENBACH
DURBAN

From a photostat: S.N. 10789

240. LETTER TO DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 29, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] You will have noticed that after all I did not because I could not visit Helsingfors.

The first part of the Autobiography will be presently published in book form at the Navajivan Press. I have no idea that there will be any very large demand for the Autobiography and I had still less idea of any Western publisher wanting to publish the book. Several who are unknown to me have asked me for the copyright. But I have informed them all that I am not yet ready. Rev. Holmes is in correspondence with me about the American copyright. But nothing is yet decided.

I think prayer and meditation are of the utmost importance.[2] The two things I do not treat separately. I can go without food but not without prayer. Probably, our conceptions of prayer are different. The prayer that we offer at the Ashram consists in reciting hymns, etc. There is nothing in it analogous to the Christian prayers in which people ask for definite things. The prayer is meant for daily purification. It is to the heart and mind what a daily bath is to the body.

Yours sincerely,

DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI, ESQ.
NATIONAL CITY BANK OF N. Y.
41 BLVD. HAUSSMANN
PARIS
FRANCE

From a photostat: S.N. 10790

[1] Mukerji had acknowledged having received in America an earlier letter of Gandhiji's and had expressed pleasure at Gandhiji's proposed visit to Europe. Also, having seen the serialization of the Autobiography in *Young India,* he had hoped that it would soon appear in book form and suggested that its publication abroad should be entrusted to an enterprising firm like Routledge of England and Dutton or Century or Scribner in the U.S.A.

[2] This had reference to Mukerji's query on the need for meditation and prayer in daily life; he himself felt that, to ensure the maximum result of work, purity of thought was essential (S.N. 10790).

241. LETTER TO H. S. WALDO POLAK

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 29, 1926

MY DEAR WALDO,

I was delighted to receive your letter.[1] You have grown so much in size and wisdom and, perhaps, it is not proper for me to remind you that as [a] little child you were my bed-fellow.

Your activities are certainly imperial.[2] Your account of the British Fascists is very interesting. How it would have been if you had chosen another work to describe your activities since you do not desire to [be] identified with Fascism in Italy.

Your estimate of the modern voter is very correct.[3] But my experience of the educated voter whom you will have in the place of the present type is no more hopeful. Even barristers take their politics from the favourite newspaper. The root of the evil lies in the corruption of our hearts, not necessarily in the limitations of our intellect. But, I must not argue with you. However I send you all my good wishes. I wish you a long and healthy life of usefulness.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

H. S. WALDO POLAK, ESQ.
33, MOWBRAY ROAD, BRONDESBURY
LONDON N.W.

From a photostat: S.N. 10791

[1] Waldo, Henry Polak's son, had written on July 1 (S.N. 10777).

[2] Waldo was studying at the London School of Economics and the Middle Temple, and was taking active interest in a "Federation of British Youth" which aimed at the creation of peace through mutual understanding. He was also a member of the "British Fascists" an organization, he explained, different from the National Fascists in Britain. The body stood for unity at home and in the Empire.

[3] Waldo had written: "Democracy seems to be rather stupid for the average man in the street has neither the time nor the inclination to study the important problems of the day. Most of his ideas are given to him ready-made by his daily paper. . . . "

242. *LETTER TO E. C. CARTER*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 29, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 23rd June last. I know that my inability to visit Helsingfors was a severe disappointment to many friends. It was not less to me. But somehow or other the inner voice within me told me I must not go.

When Miss Nellie Lee Holt[1] comes to India, I shall be delighted to meet her. If she comes during the year there is no difficulty because I do not propose to move out of Sabarmati till the 20th December next and, if the simple life at the Ashram is not too trying to her, she will of course stay at the Ashram, If she wishes she may make use of the Ashram address for receiving all her letters.

Yours sincerely,

E. C. CARTER, ESQ.
129, EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 10792

243. *LETTER TO MRS. MAUD CHEESMAN*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 29, 1926

MY DEAR MAUD,

I have your 2nd letter[2] before me. I assure you, I detest typewriters. I would love to do all my correspondence in my own hand. But, I have made a choice of the lesser evil. I am trying to conserve all the strength I can and this I do by dictat-

[1] Of Stephen's College, Columbia

[2] Writing on June 18, Maud had hoped Gandhiji would be able to answer in his own handwriting once again, though she "would rather have a typewritten letter than none at all" (S.N. 10769).

ing what one might call even love letters. You don't generally rebuke friends through dictated letters, but I do even that. Not much fear of my rebuking you. You need not therefore feel nervous.

I did meet Miss Nora Karn.[1] We had a free long chat. I do not think that she mentioned you to me though I am not quite sure.

I hope you are now quite strong and thoroughly restored.

With love to you both.

Yours,

MRS. MAUD CHEESMAN

From a photostat: S.N. 10793

244. LETTER TO S. P. MENON

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 29, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You will not ask me to give you anything long. I have little leisure to spare from the work before me. All that I can say in appreciation of the work of H. H. Shri Narayanaguruswami is to wish it every success. Whoever lays the axe at the root of the cursed tree of untouchability thus renders a great service not merely to Hinduism but to humanity. And I know too that nobody can better perform the task than the Thiyas themselves. For, after all, everyone's salvation depends upon himself, and, what is true for an individual is equally true of communities.

Yours sincerely,

S. P. MENON, ESQ.
EDITOR,
"THE SNEHITHAN"
P. O. VADAKANCHERY
(COCHIN STATE)

From a photostat: S.N. 11131

[1] Maud had referred to her as a friend, and had inquired about her.

245. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR ABHECHAND

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Thursday, Asadha Vad 5, July 29, 1926

BHAI PRABHASHANKAR,

I have your letter. That you put up with your father's misbehaviour twice does not mean that you voluntarily submitted to suffering. Submitting to suffering does not mean condoning a misdeed. If you had not condoned his misbehaviour on the very first occasion, the unhappy result would not have followed. There are two ways of opposing misconduct, a non-violent way and a violent way. The method of non-co-operation which you have adopted on the third occasion seems perfectly right to me. You need not be afraid of criticism by society. However, it would not be right to conceal the reason for living separately from your father; there is no need to proclaim his misdeed from the house-tops, but it is not necessary, either, to conceal anything from fear of public scandal. When we act out of regard for dharma, we should not feel any such shame. You did right in sending your name, otherwise I would have not been able to reply to you. I have destroyed your letter.

SHRI PRABHASHANKAR ABHECHAND
CLERK, GONDAL RAILWAY
RUNNING ROAD
JETALSAR JUNCTION

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12225

246. LETTER TO PUNJABHAI H. SHAH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Thursday, July 29, 1926

BHAI PUNJABHAI,

I send two letters with this. I can understand nothing in this matter. If you are well enough, come over some time. If you cannot do that and if you write to me, I shall send Chhaganlal or, if necessary, I shall come myself.

SHRI PUNJABHAI HIRACHAND
C/O SHOP OF SHAH NEMCHAND KACHRABHAI
MANEKCHAWK
AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12226

247. LETTER TO SHAMBHUSHANKAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Thursday, Asadha Vad 5, July 29, 1926

BHAI SHAMBHUSHANKAR,

I send with this a draft for Rs. 150. Please do not make it a practice to ask for a reply, as you did this time, by return of post. A speculator may be in financial difficulties any hour and out of them the next, but one who runs a regular business can judge in advance when he will need money. What did you do about the interest on the loan received through Shri Jagjivandas? I shall send a draft on Bhavnagar if I can get one, otherwise it will be on Bombay. Sending cash is a bother. You will have to make a particular effort if you wish to sell khadi. One needs to have special qualifications for the job. A weaver who has used mill-yarn should be paid nothing; for our purposes, the piece will be of no use. In such cases, we should be satisfied if we get back our yarn. If you know the weaver, you and he, or, more particularly you alone, may undertake a fast, provided you can do so without anger in your heart. But it would not be wrong if you do not do that. A fast is not a remedy in every

situation. It is only one of the many ways available for self-purification. The highest degree of purity is achieved only by gaining control over one's thoughts. In the final analysis, such purity is the only true purity.

SHAMBHUSHANKAR
KHADI KARYALAYA
GARIYADHAR
KATHIAWAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12227

248. LETTER TO G. N. KANITKAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 30, 1926

MY DEAR KANITKAR,

I have your letter. I have not seen the 6th and 7th numbers of *Swavalamban* (स्वावलंबन). I suppose the paper goes to the Navajivan office. It would be perhaps better to send the papers here. The papers that go directly to the Navajivan office do not come here unless I specially send for them.

I looked for the *Swavalamban* address on the covering sheet and on the last sheet. Not finding it there, I thought it was not given. I now see that it is given among the advertisement sheets where one would never look. I suppose the recent numbers do not contain advertisements at all. But I have not got those numbers. What I have on my desk is what you gave me in Poona.

I have meant what I have said in my message to you.[1] I can therefore fully reciprocate your hope that, in spite of all odds against you, you will succeed in making the message of khaddar acceptable to Maharashtra.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

G. N. KANITKAR, ESQ.

From a photostat: C.W. 957. Courtesy: G. N. Kanitkar

[1] *Vide* "Message to Maharashtra", 26-7-1926.

249. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 30, 1926

DEAR MOTI BABU,

I have your letter and the figures of khadi production and sale in yards. Will you please see to the information asked for by me in the pages of *Young India* being supplied about spinners, etc. You will find the items of information required in the *Young India* issued on. . . .[1]

Do also please tell me whether all the workers of the Sangh regularly wear khaddar and do sacrificial spinning for at least half an hour per day and, if so, do you keep any record of their production? Do you test the strength of yarn from time to time? Are the wheels of the voluntary spinners kept in perfect order? Do you manufacture your own wheels? Are the members of the Sangh, members of the All-India Spinners' Association?

Yours sincerely,

BABU MOTILAL ROY
PRABARTAK SANGH
CHANDERNAGORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 11213

[1] The date of the issue, which was evidently intended to be filled in the original, was 17-6-1924.

250. LETTER TO A. T. GIDWANI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 30, 1926

MY DEAR GIDWANI,

I have your letter.[1] A sample spindle has now been sent to you. I do hope that the workshop will be able to turn out spindles according to the sample.

I have now been receiving from all quarters literature on manure, not merely for grapes but for other things too. So, what your friend will send me will be an addition.[2]

For teaching spinning and weaving, I can send you an excellent Hindi lad[3] belonging to the U.P. He is practically illiterate. But, he is painstaking, wants to learn Hindi more fully than he knows it and wants to learn Arithmetic also. If he can join some class there for two hours, he will be satisfied. You won't have to pay anything for him beyond his living expenses, and his fare there and back. If you think that I may send him, he will be sent immediately. He knows carding, spinning and weaving and has been often sent as a demonstrator.

Do please tell Gangabehn to write to me and make good her threat. When she has completed her course in Geography and History, etc., she may come here to have the finishing touch by becoming an accomplished carder, spinner, etc., so as to enable her to take up village reconstruction if she will throw in her lot with the millions.

Yours sincerely,

ACHARYA A. T. GIDWANI
PREM MAHA VIDYALAYA
BRINDABAN

From a microfilm: S.N. 11269

[1] This was dated July 22 (S.N. 11268). On July 10, the Vice-Principal of the Prem Vidyalaya had sent Gandhiji, under instructions from Gidwani, samples of spindles proposed to be manufactured.

[2] Gidwani had written to a friend in Hyderabad to send Gandhiji a sample of the grapes he was producing in his vineyard and also information about the manure he was using.

[3] Gidwani had asked for a teacher.

251. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA MUKERJEE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 30, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I am delighted to receive your letter. I am glad to learn you are better than hitherto. You will please keep Krishnadas with you till you are so far restored as not to require any assistance whatsoever.

I have got a book by Dr. Mary Stopes[1]. The article therefore that you have sent me furnishes good commentary on her work. Indeed, marriage seems to have lost all sanctity in the West and the looseness in sexual relations is invading this poor land also. I shall try to secure from Mr. Ganesan the books you have mentioned.

I am likely to attend the Congress at Gauhati. But nothing is yet certain about my movements after the year of rest from travelling is over.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA MUKERJEE
C/O S. C. GUHA, ESQ.
DARBHANGA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19677

252. LETTER TO S. H. THATTE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 30, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Your first letter was duly received, but it was handed over to me only last week in the ordinary course. I have made, you will see from *Young India*, full use of the information given by you.[2] I do not need to write anything more about the conduct

[1] Dr. Marie Stopes, author of *Ideal Marriage*
[2] *Vide* "Reward of Earnestness", 29-7-1926.

of the National School under your charge. If you continue your work in a methodical manner, it is bound to have its effect.

I am unable to make any suggestions about your diet. You will be your own guide in that respect. You will know exactly what is necessary. You may reduce the quantity, restrict the variety and change it so long as your constitution responds to it without being injured. I have not succeeded in a remarkable degree in my experiments upon myself or others in the avoidance of milk. I therefore advise you, if you make dietetic experiments without milk and its products, to act cautiously. The condition of your bowels and the general tone of the system will tell you what effect is produced by abstinence from milk upon your constitution.[1] . . . the food you are taking is enough and contains the necessary nutritious elements.

Yours sincerely,

S. H. THATTE, ESQ.
HEAD MASTER
NATIONAL SCHOOL
DONDAICHA
T. V. RY.

From a photostat: S.N. 19678

253. *LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ*

Asadha Vad 6 [July 30, 1926][2]

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I read your letter to Devdas. I did not expect the cloud which is now threatening you, but I welcome it all the same. This is the only way in which one's love for dharma is tested. Send me the charge-sheet against you when you get it. I will draft a reply. You may make any changes you like in it, our only aim being that we should maintain the utmost civility. A community has the right to expel from its fold any member who acts against its rules. There is nothing in all your actions for which you need feel ashamed or sorry. Certainly, your influence in the community will diminish, and so will your capacity for getting wealth. I don't see anything to worry about in this.

[1] It is blank here in the source.

[2] The reference in the letter to the addressee's excommunication suggests that the letter was written in 1926.

You should not mind even if you have to take to begging. If we can preserve our dharma, we should welcome being reduced to such a plight. When ultimately the members of your community recognize your love for dharma and your respect for the community, they themselves will become humble. We must bring about reforms in the affairs of communities, and by acting in this manner you will easily succeed in doing that in your community.

You should send immediately Rs. 8,000 more to enable Anna to buy a press. He was here. I think we should provide him with the necessary means. If Ghanshyamdas has not returned the sum of Rs. 5,000, please remind him. If you get it, you may send that and another Rs. 3,000, which should be deducted from the money payable in the next month.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2871

254. LETTER TO NANABHAI BHATT

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday, Asadha Vad 6, July 30, 1926

BHAI NANABHAI,

I send you with this, for your information, a letter which Mohanlal Pandya has received. It is not necessary to return it to me. If what it says is a fact and we have received any request for a grant, we should make everything clear before paying it.

DAKSHINAMURTI
BHAVNAGAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12228

255. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

THE ASHRAM,
Friday, Asadha Vad 6, July 30, 1926

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have committed an offence against you. You sent me some months ago a draft of "An Appeal to Vanik Friends", and I had agreed to go through it. But one thing after another turned up and I was not able to read it. While looking through my papers today, I found this draft. I have gone through it. I found nothing in it which needs revision. I am entirely with you in this movement. I have already given you my advice, that you should see the elders in every branch of the community and try to secure their signatures. But I have no doubt that, even if we fail in getting such signatures and only a handful from among the members of the various branches give their support, the movement is worth carrying on. Let me know when you have obtained a few signatures on the leaflet. After I hear from you, I will write a note on the subject in *Navajivan*. I am sure you will not follow my example in the offence I have committed against you by not returning the draft soon enough. Moreover, you do not have my excuses for not being prompt.

BAPU

SHRI DEVCHAND UTTAMCHAND PAREKH
JETPUR
KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12229

256. *LETTER TO SAJJADIN MIRZA*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 31, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and a copy of your Primer for infants for which I thank you. I have gone through your Primer with considerable interest. I hold strong views about juvenile literature. In my opinion, your Primer does not exhibit any special feature except its good paper and costliness. I have seen most of the Urdu Primers that are available in India. They are all more or less good, and to a certain extent, carry out your ideas. But they are better in that they are not so expensive as yours. It should be remembered that ours is almost the poorest country in the world. You cannot afford Primers at four annas per copy. My own opinion is that the smaller a Primer, the better.

Little children do not need the assistance of books so much as they need the assistance of teachers. But, as we do not have many trained teachers, Primers should be so conceived as to assist teachers rather than children. A revolution in thought is required to frame a Primer of that character and, then too, a suitable Primer of that character can only come from the pen of an experienced teacher. My advice to you, therefore, is really that you should study this important question of juvenile literature afresh and if you have the attainments, write a book which will be universally accepted as an original contribution to the methods of teaching children of a country so vast and so poor as ours. Expensive European models can, therefore, serve little purpose in this connection.

Yours sincerely,

SAJJADIN MIRZA, ESQ., M.A. (CANTAB.)
DIVL. INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS
GULBARGA (DECCAN)

From a photostat: S.N. 10973

257. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Saturday, Asadha Vad 7 [July 31, 1926][1]

BHAISHRI BEHRAMJI,

I got your letter. I was very happy indeed to read about the improvement in your health. Please write to me once again before you leave for Bombay.

Blessings to both of you from
BAPU

SHRIYUT BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA
8, NAPIER ROAD
CAMP
POONA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 4365. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta; also G.N. 6586

258. LETTER TO FULCHAND SHAH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Saturday, Asadha Vad 7, July 31, 1926

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I enclose with this a letter from Mulchandbhai. I had understood from you that we had enough money for the present for our work among the *Antyajas*. Please pay, if you can, the money mentioned in the accompanying letter.

SHRI FULCHAND KASTURCHAND SHAH
NATIONAL SCHOOL
WADHWAN

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12230

[1] From the postmark

259. *LETTER TO GORDHANBHAI M. PATEL*

THE ASHRAM,
July 31, 1926

BHAISHRI GORDHANBHAI,

I have your letter. I do write occasionally about Patidar. I do not look upon the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* as historical narratives. I have not attained self-realization. If it is true that my influence over the people has declined, I do not know the reason. I would attain self-realization this very day if I were totally free from attachment to the ego. I cannot go into *samadhi*[1]. I do not know what will happen even tomorrow, let alone in 1930.

Vandemataram from

GORDHANBHAI MOTIBHAI
JOGIDAS VITHAL'S POLE
BARODA

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19938

260. *SIGNIFICANCE OF VOWS*

A student writes:[2]

Everyone is impelled sometimes to ask this question. Nevertheless it is based on a misunderstanding. A vow has the effect of raising us exactly because, in spite of it, there is a chance of our falling. If there was no such danger, there would be no scope for striving. A vow serves the same purpose as a lighthouse does. If we keep our eyes fixed on it, we shall come safe through any storm. The lighthouse itself cannot quieten the storm, yet it guides sailors caught in a storm and helps them to fight it, even so a vow is a kind of powerful force which saves a human being from the innumerable waves raging in the heart. This being the case, no way has been found, or is likely to be found, by following which a person taking a vow can be assured that he will

[1] Last stage of meditation

[2] The letter is not translated here. Stating that he lacked firmness of mind, the correspondent had asked Gandhiji if there was any way by following which he would always be able to keep a vow.

never fall. And this is as it should be; otherwise the moral injunctions about truth and so on will lose the great value which is attached to them. One has to exert oneself so much to acquire ordinary knowledge or raise a few lakhs of rupees for a fund. There are many who do not mind risking their lives merely to be able to see a lifeless spot like the North Pole. Why should we, then, wonder or be unhappy if we have to put in a thousand times more difficult effort in order to conquer our powerful foes such as anger, malice and so on. Our success lies in the very struggle for this deathless glory. The effort itself is victory. If those who sail to the North Pole fail in their object, their effort may be considered to have been wasted, but every effort we make in our life to conquer these foes, attachment and aversion will have taken us forward. Thus, no effort, however slight, towards such an end is ever wasted—that is the Lord's assurance.[1]

The only encouragement, therefore, which I can give this student is that he should go on striving and never lose heart. He should never abandon the vow. He should banish from his dictionary the word "impossible". If he forgets his vow at any time, he should do *prayaschitta*[2] and remind himself of the vow. Every time he violates it, he should start again, and have complete confidence that he is bound at last to succeed. No man of spiritual illumination has ever told us of his experience that untruth had ever triumphed; on the contrary, every such person has unanimously proclaimed most emphatically his experience that in the end truth triumphs. We should keep the experience of these persons in mind, and entertain no doubts of any kind when striving for a good end or be afraid to take a vow with a virtuous aim. Pandit Rambhuj Datt Chaudhari has left us a poem in Punjabi with the following refrain:

"Never accept defeat, though you lose your life."

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-8-1926

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II, 40

[2] Atonement

261. A CALF BEING SACRIFICED

A reader of *Navajivan* writes:[1]

The writer has given his name and address. But I cannot stop the marriage. I got the letter last week only. I do not know the groom or the girl or any of the others concerned. I have never been to that village. Whether it is my timidity or discrimination, I did not have the courage to interfere in this affair, though, believing the report to be true, I did feel I should go to the village and get in touch with the old man and dissuade him or plead with the girl's relatives. But I could not summon the courage needed. I, therefore, give the particulars of the case, omitting names, and should be satisfied if, reading this, people desist from such a terrible step in future.

What other reason than sensuality can there be behind such a marriage? Dharma enjoins that one should not marry more than once. A married woman who becomes a widow has, if she belongs to one of the so-called upper castes, to remain unmarried for the rest of her life, though she may have been a mere girl when she became a widow. But a man, no matter how old, can marry a girl of tender age; such is the intolerable, the painful position! If there is any justification for the existence of the caste system, it should be in its ability to make such a state of affairs impossible. If the *mahajans* or the young men in the communities show courage, such unhappy situations would never arise, should never arise. Unfortunately, however, the *mahajans* have forgotten their duty. Instead of acting as the guardians of the good name of their communities, they seem often to be its enemies. Instead of being moved by a spirit of service or concern for others' good, their members often betray selfish attitudes. Where there are no selfish motives and there is a genuine desire to do good, courage is lacking. The truth is that the future of the different communities, and of the country itself, depends wholly on the youth. If they realize their duty and act in accordance with it, they can do much and make such unbecoming unions impossible. For this, hardly anything more than educating public opinion needs to be done. When that is done, old

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had reported that a girl of 12 was to be married to a man aged 55 in a few days, and requested Gandhiji to use his influence to stop the marriage.

men will not have the courage to come forward to marry, nor will parents and guardians have the courage to ruin the lives of their daughters or wards.

It is amusing when old men who get married to young girls talk about protecting religion or cow-protection or non-violence. To leave aside such ordinary but urgent reforms and indulge in big talk about swaraj and so on sounds fantastic. Those who are eager for swaraj ought to have the strength to eradicate social evils. The strength to win swaraj will be a sign of our good health, and no one can be considered healthy if even one limb of his is diseased. Every young man and every well-wisher of the country should bear this in mind.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 1-8-1926

262. *A CORRECTION*

In the article captioned "Quality and Strength of Yarn" which appeared in *Navajivan* of July 18, it was stated in the second paragraph that "the yarn received by the Mandal was from voluntary spinners". I had concluded this from the leaflet which I had received, but now I have come to know that the details given related to yarn produced by wage-earners and not by voluntary spinners. The reason why it is considered necessary to correct this misstatement is the fact that the yarn spun by wage-earners is inferior in quality almost everywhere. There has been unexpected improvement only in the quality of yarn produced by voluntary spinners, and that is but natural. These spinners have a certain aim in spinning. They feel sympathy for the poor, and that is why they take care to improve the quality of their yarn day by day. Wage-earners, on the other hand, neither have the foresight to understand their own interest nor the intelligence to learn the art of improving the quality and strength of yarn. And, therefore, though they have been spinning for many years now, it will be a long time before they show improvement in their work. Voluntary spinners, on the other hand, started spinning only recently, and yet they can make rapid progress if they but choose. This is the great value of voluntary spinning and an argument to prove its necessity.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 1-8-1926

263. MENDICANT SADHUS

The term "mendicant" would perhaps be considered derogatory to the sadhus. But in this age sadhus mean men in ochre robes, no matter whether their hearts are of that colour, whether straightforward or crooked. Really speaking a sadhu means a person with a heart which is *sadhu*, pure. But we hardly ever know such sadhus, whereas we come across ochre-robed sadhus, and some who are the opposite of sadhus, even begging on the streets. I have, therefore, used the term "mendicant" to describe them. A friend writes about them:[1]

This is an excellent suggestion. But who will respond to it? To introduce the spinning-wheel amongst mendicant sadhus is much more difficult than to introduce it among the poor. It requires changing the religious beliefs of the people. Today the well-to-do believe that when they have put some money in the bag of the poor they have done a charitable deed, something meritorious. Who will explain to them that by doing this they do not serve but harm those whom they want to help, that, in the name of dharma, they support evil and encourage hypocrisy? If the fifty-six lakh mendicant sadhus in the country should be inspired with the spirit of service and decide to maintain themselves by working, the country would get an efficient army of volunteers. It is almost impossible to explain this to the ochre-robed sadhus who go about. There are three types of characters among them. A large majority of them are impostors who want a well-fed do-nothing life. The second type are stupid people who believe that ochre robes and work go ill together. The third type, which is a very small group, are men of genuine renunciation, but they are so bound by tradition that they feel that a sannyasi cannot work even to serve others. If this small group realize the importance of working, realize that, whatever may have been the practice in the past, in the present age it is necessary for sannyasis to work, as an example to other people if for no other reason, we can manage the other two groups easily enough. But it is very difficult to convince them of this point of view. We shall succeed in the task if we work in patience; the sannyasis will understand the truth only through experience, that

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had suggested that Gandhiji should invite mendicant sadhus to take up spinning.

is, when the spinning-wheel comes to enjoy sovereignty in the country the sannyasis will submit to its rule. Sovereignty of the spinning-wheel means the sovereignty of love, and that means an awakening of the religious spirit. When such an awakening takes place, this small group of sannyasis will not fail to recognize it.

It is, moreover, as difficult to convince the rich as it is to convince the sannyasis. If the former understand their dharma and stop encouraging idleness, give work, and not food, to those who beg, the empire of the spinning-wheel would be established right now. But can we expect this from the rich? The rich themselves are, by and large, somewhat lazy; at any rate they encourage laziness. Whether they know it or not, their actions cannot but encourage idle beggars. Hence, though the correspondent has made a good suggestion, he has not thought how difficult it would be to carry it out. I do not mean that we should make no effort in that direction because of the difficulty. We should indeed go on working. Every wealthy person understanding this point and deciding to stop giving alms to the lazy, every mendicant sadhu who is not disabled taking a vow not to eat without working, benefits the country. Wherever, therefore, something can be done in this direction, an attempt should be made. All that I mean is that, if we keep the difficulties in mind, we shall not be discouraged and will not conclude, when we fail to get immediate results, that our methods are wrong.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 1-8-1926

264. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 1, 1926

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

Your letter relieves me. I do not know if in some sense it may be right to say that you do not count with me in the same way that Motilalji does because of the following he has. But, if it is true in any sense, I can only say that it is a human feeling which I have not yet overcome because I am unconscious of it. I think I can say without fear of contradiction that no [one] has counted with me merely because of his following. I have cultivated aloofness from the influence of numbers because of my

special conception of service. However, it is enough consolation for me to know that you have never detected the slightest coolness towards you in my conduct.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. M. R. JAYAKAR
391 THAKURDWAR
BOMBAY-2

From a photostat: S.N. 11325

265. LETTER TO V. J. PATEL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 1, 1926

DEAR VITHALBHAI,

I have your letter[2] and further cheque for Rs. 1,625.

In the circumstances mentioned by you, I shall refrain from publishing the correspondence. It may be published later as you suggest when the heat of the elections is over. When the time

[1] Acknowledging Gandhiji's letter of July 10, and referring to a remark of B. F. Bharucha, Jayakar had written on July 27: "I never remarked to him that you had grown cool towards me. I have never experienced any coolness but the warmest behaviour whenever we have met. I do certainly feel that, not having the political following of Das or Motilal, I do not count with you in that sense, notwithstanding the personal tenderness which has always existed between us. But is this not only stating the truth?" (S.N. 11323)

[2] Vithalbhai Patel acknowledged receipt of Gandhiji's letters of July 25 on July 28. He observed that he proposed to seek re-election to the Assembly, on the expiration of his current term, "with a view to enable the Assembly to establish a convention similar to the one which obtains in the United Kingdom. If the Assembly chooses to re-elect me, I propose to continue the same arrangement regarding my contribution from my salary for a period of three years. I am not sure about the wisdom of publishing our correspondence at this stage. Such publication, I am afraid, is bound to be construed in some quarters, as an attempt on my part to influence the election in my favour. You are probably aware that I am, unfortunately, not without mean political rivals who are always ready to twist and turn anything that they can get hold of to my prejudice, regardless of the effect of such a course on national interests. Don't you think that in the circumstances it is better to delay the publication of the correspondence till January next when the election will be over, and it will be definitely known whether I am out of office or whether a term of three years is ensured to me? There will not then be the slightest

for publication is ripe, you will send me the draft duly corrected or perhaps new circumstances will then have arisen for a new draft.[1]

Yours sincerely,

HON'BLE V. J. PATEL
"SUKHDALE"
SIMLA

From a photostat: S.N. 11326

266. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Sunday, Asadha Vad 8, August 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I send with this a telegram for you received here. For a moment I thought of opening the envelope and relaying the message by telegram, but then I felt that a telegram from a person who did not know that you had already left this place was not likely to contain anything very important.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SIR PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI
PORBANDAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 3204. Courtesy: Mahesh Pattani; also S.N. 12231 and G.N. 5890

267. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Sunday, Asadha Krishna 8, August [1][2], *1926*

BHAI VITHALDAS,

I have your letter. I return the two letters from Tirupur. It is not necessary to have them copied. You may write to me

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objections to the publication of the correspondence at that stage. If you, however, do not agree with this view, I shall return the draft reply with one or two small alterations, which I propose to suggest for your consideration . . . " (S.N. 11324).

[1] Patel wrote to Gandhiji on August 28, sending a further cheque (S.N. 11329).

[2] The source has 3, but Sunday, *Asadha Krishna* 8, fell on August 1.

even when you go to Tirupur, and I will write there. When you are there, go into full details. It is our good fortune that this year's sales will not be less than last year's.

SHRI VITHALDAS JERAJANI
MANAGER, KHADI BHANDAR
PRINCESS STREET
BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12234

268. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Sunday, Asadha Krishna 8, August 1 [1926][1]

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I had your two letters yesterday and one today. Do not worry over Martand. I had read the letters to Martand and Ramaniklal. They were both all right. There is no need to return the Mysore report[2] to me. I have another copy. The one you have sent after correcting the Hindi would be very useful. Keep sending me such [corrections] whenever you get time. Devdas must be at Mussoorie these days. I have asked him to stay there as long as he wishes. He needed peace and rest and now he has both.

I have not encouraged Visveshwar Birlaji to come here. I advised him to seek solitude and do introspection.

Blessings from
BAPU

HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA
KHADI BHANDAR
AJMER

From the Hindi original: C.W. 7704. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

[1] From the postmark
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Haribhau Upadhyaya", 15-7-1926.

269. LETTER TO M. L. GUPTA

August 1, 1926

BHAISHRI,

I got your questions. I think it unnecessary to discuss such questions in *Navajivan*. There is certainly life in every plant. Since plants are for man's use, we may use twigs for brushing teeth so long as we also eat vegetable foods. When we commit so much needless violence, why should we raise such fine issues and muddle our minds?

M. L. GUPTA
AJMER

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19939

270. MESSAGE TO JAIN VOLUNTEERS' CONFERENCE[1]

August 2, 1926

I do hold certain views about the Shatrunjaya award[2], but I have purposely remained silent on the subject in the interest of both the parties and do not mean to break my silence.

The Bombay Chronicle, 3-8-1926

271. LETTER TO KHWAJA

August 2, 1926

KHWAJA,

I have your letter. I had written to you specially to tell you that if you thought that the book you wrote did no good to Islam, you had better withdraw it—not for my sake or for the sake of anyone else. I do not know if the Arya Samajists are

[1] The message was read out at the Bharatiya Jain Swayamsevak Conference held at Bombay, under the Chairmanship of Amritlal Kalidas Sheth.

[2] This was given in a dispute between Palitana Darbar and the Jain community on the question of an annual pilgrimage or protection tax to be paid to the Darbar regarding the Shatrunjaya Shrine. The award given by C. C. Watson went against the Jains.

trying to convert some prominent Muslims. One nowadays hears all sorts of things, which have neither head nor tail.

Yours,
GANDHI

[From Hindi]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary, p. 257. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

272. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL P. NANAVATI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Asadha Vad 10, August 3, 1926

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. For the present, I am having your amount credited to the scholarship account. I am sure we shall get someone with those qualifications.

SHRI CHHAGANLAL P. NANAVATI
NAVASARI BUILDING
HORNBY ROAD
FORT
BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12232

273. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Asadha Vad 10, August 3, 1926

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got your letter. I don't know when Dr. Ansari is likely to come here. His speech was reported in the papers and I read it. I think the speech was an emotional outburst. I have no doubt at all about his noble views. But he cannot devote himself whole-heartedly to anything except his professional work. Similar is the case with Hakim Saheb. His heart is in the right place, but he lacks the strength to sacrifice everything for the sake of the cause. Maualana Abul Kalam Azad is indeed a Maulana. I do not set much value on the manifesto. A mere

seven hundred cannot help our cause. In a situation in which the truth cannot come out, what can we hope from goodness? One cannot take interest in parliamentary activities and also work for Hindu-Muslim unity, for the two are incompatible with each other. I certainly do not want that the Maharaja or the Maharani of Nabha should do only one thing, spin on the charkha, but I think that, if they are at all likely to take up such work, it would be better and easier to teach them to spin on the *takli*. If afterwards he gives up the *takli*, we would not feel hurt, but we would if he gave up the charkha. If you think differently, however, let me know; I will send you a charkha.

The present political atmosphere is quite disgusting. Mithubehn[1] herself had asked me to send khadi to her place. You will easily be able to sell that quantity. I know what prices she will pay for the different varieties of khadi.

I have already written to you about your coming here. I certainly think you should. But I will not object if you decide to stay on there for some time longer. It is a wrong idea that there is no work to be done here. There is so much of it indeed that the workers are never free. All the same, if it is necessary also for the sake of your health to stay on there, you may certainly do so. I had a letter from Vithalbhai. In that at any rate he says that, if you do not go there, he will reconcile himself to your decision.

SHRI DEVDAS GANDHI
THE OAKS
MUSSOORIE, U.P.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12233

274. LETTER TO MOHANLAL PANDYA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Asadha Vad 10, August 3, 1926

BHAISHRI MOHANLAL,

We have no other yardstick with which to judge the state of national awakening except the quantity of khadi produced, the number of *Antyajas* educated and the number of Hindus and Muslims who live in mutual amity. The figures for each province should be added up and the sum will indicate the position there.

[1] Mithubehn Petit

If we are sincerely working for these three causes, it does not matter that the bureaucracy seems at present to become more arrogant. Though the people may seem to have become dispirited those who are working to strengthen the three movements I have mentioned may rest fully confident that all will end well. There are of course other fields of work too, such as municipalities, local boards, public meetings, councils, etc. Let those who prefer to work in them do so. Why should we envy them? Who prevents anyone from taking up such work? Why should we be angry with them? Everyone works according to his own lights. If we, on our part, go on silently with our work and make progress in it, the atmosphere will be cleansed by and by. The swarajist horse is still prancing about all over the place, and we get trampled upon now and then. When it finally allows itself to be tied to its tether, we shall be more at ease. We should certainly hold khadi exhibitions and conduct similar activities. We should have faith that we shall gradually succeed in them. Shri Lakshmidas[1] has dedicated himself in all sincerity to the cause of khadi and is working in the field according to his lights and to the best of his ability. Let the fruit of his effort be what it may. If, instead of thinking about the whole of Gujarat or of India, each of us pays attention to his own small sphere of work and attains perfection in it, work in the other spheres is bound to show equal perfection.

And now about national schools. If you are a practical man, am I less of one? The suggestion which I have made is also practical. If the pupils always lord it over us, the parents send their children as a matter of favour to us and plainly refuse to pay their fees, if the entire expenditure is met from voluntary contributions so that in effect a farce is kept up. Rather than all this, is it not more practical that we should free ourselves from slavery to the pupils, decline to accept parents' favour, abandon the make-believe and spend the time in teaching a smaller number who are keen on learning? Let the teachers go round for *madhukari*[2] and the rest may be engaged in other productive activities. The example of the man bitten by a snake will not apply here. In that example, there is every hope of space being available. In our case, on the other hand, there is hardly anything of the genuine national spirit. Why should we deceive ourselves?

[1] Lakshmidas P. Asar

[2] Collecting alms from door to door; literally, collection of honey by bees moving from flower to flower

The real point in all these arguments is this—how much faith do we have in our ideas?

SHRI MOHANLAL K. PANDYA
KHADI KARYALAYA
MAHUDHA
Via NADIAD

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12235

275. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

[On or after *August 3, 1926*][1]

ALREADY DECIDED SEND 5000 UTKAL BUT DO RAISE MONEY FOR GENERAL KHADI WORK.

From a copy: S.N. 11216

276. LETTER TO K. NATARAJAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 4, 1926

DEAR MR. NATARAJAN,

I have your letter. The cutting you have sent me is substantially correct. Vithalbhai has been sending me over Rs. 1,600 per month for the last three or four months. I have been considering with him the advisability of publishing the news. But, he thinks that it should not be published till after the elections. The reasons given by him are sound and I have therefore refrained from publishing his letter and my reply. For your own information I may state that I am not going to make use of the money on my own responsibility. But as soon as the heat of party strife is over, I propose to invite the co-operation of several leaders upon choosing the best way of utilizing Vithalbhai's handsome gift. He has sent me the unspent portion of the national purse presented to him. You will please treat this matter as

[1] This was in reply to a telegram by Jamnalal dated August 3 which said: Discussed Orissa work with Satis Babu Niranjan Patnayak. Work suffering want of money shall try realize money and hand over to Satis Babu if you permit.

absolutely confidential. Or, if you feel that you should publish something saying that *The Hindu* has a paragraph on the matter, you may correspond with Vithalbhai himself.

So far as the establishment of a Supreme Court is concerned,[1] I have been following the controversy. I gathered together the papers with a view to writing upon it for *Young India* and then I decided not to write anything. I will now reconsider the thing. The objections raised by distinguished lawyers have made absolutely no appeal to me. Indeed it has been a painful surprise to me to observe the opposition to Sir Hari Singh's[2] very mild and very innocent proposal. But we have lost all confidence in ourselves. I have some little experience of Privy Council cases. And, it is my firm belief that the members of the Privy Council are not free from political bias and on highly intricate matters of custom, in spite of all their labours they often make egregious blunders.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. NATARAJAN
EDITOR,
"INDIAN DAILY MAIL"
FORT
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 10974

277. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Asadha Vad 11 [August 4, 1926][3]

DEAR FRIEND,

I got your letter sent with Nanabhai. If you can live only on milk, by all means do that, but the milk should be fresh and unboiled. I did make the experiment in jail, and would have found no difficulty in living on milk alone. But the stomach had been

[1] What follows also constituted Gandhiji's observations, when invited by the *Indian Daily Mail* to express his views on the subject, and were published by that paper on August 5. They were also reproduced in *The Hindustan Times*, 7-8-1926 and *The Leader*, 12-8-1926.

[2] Hari Singh Gour

[3] Reference to the two books returned to Gandhiji suggests that the letter was written after Gandhiji's letter to the addressee dated 27-7-26.

used[1] to fruit for 30 years and so I lost three pounds in a week. I was, therefore, forced to start eating fruit again. You may live on milk alone if you don't require fruit and if you get regular motions without having to take medicines for the purpose.

I got the books you returned. I had asked you to send them back only after you had read them. I am strongly of the view that you should not change your diet even when you go to England. I am sure that if you stick to milk and such fruits as you can digest, you will have a new body. If you can spend a few days here before leaving for England, please do. I certainly know that you cannot be happy if you don't have to rush from one place to another. That is unavoidable in your profession. Your suggestion about the Congress President is perfectly right, but there are many complications about it. At present, I do not interfere in any matter, though of course I am not prevented from making suggestions from here.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SIR PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI
ANANTWADI
BHAVNAGAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 3205. Courtesy: Mahesh Pattani

278. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Asadha Vad 11, August 4, 1926

BHAISHRI KAKA,

I have your letter. I will publish the article[1] which you have sent to Mahadev. I intend to add "nearly" in the last sentence.[2] Foreign cloth should never be used at all, but in cities the use of motor transport may not be an evil, it may be good. If, for instance, there is a fire at a far end of the town, a motor lorry may be more useful in reaching the place. Or, when we see in Calcutta, and even in Bombay, draught animals made to haul exces-

[1] *Vide* "Bullock *v.* Car", 8-8-1926.

[2] After adding "nearly" the last sentence read: "It will begood indeed if we come to believe that, in fact, the use of the motor-car is *nearly* as undesirable as the use of foreign cloth."

sive loads during the fierce noon-day heat, the advantage of motor transport becomes plain enough. Moreover in an age of railways and cities, we can change things only if we oppose the very existence of cities, if we can at all do so.

And now about collective farming. That human civilization was due to agriculture is a relative truth; in other words, man advanced from the hunter's stage to the agricultural stage. The next stage, now, is not that of collective farms but of orchards. There will be even greater stability when we arrive at that stage. Our relations with the world will become purer than at present, and people will have to labour much less in growing fruit trees than they do in agriculture and they would have some peace too. Moreover, as vegetarian food is spiritually beneficial, compared with flesh food, so fruit diet will be still more beneficial. Trees, again, make rainfall more regular and are also more independent of rains than grain fields. Thus fruit diet has numerous economic, political and spiritual benefits. But I am afraid we shall not have the privilege of introducing this reform, though of course I have still not given up hope completely. If I meet a chemist with a spiritual vision, I would immediately resume the experiment which I had to abandon. If you can interest that Lonavala doctor, he may perhaps carry out experiments.

I understand what you say about your health. Try one thing more in your diet experiments. You may drink fresh milk of cow or buffalo, if you can be sure of proper cleanliness having been observed in milking. You should watch the effect. If it is beneficial, you may continue taking the milk. The *vaid* says that the body gets the finest vitamins from such milk, which are destroyed when the milk is heated. These vitamins are considered essential for health. One doctor Talwalkar has done a good study of this subject. If necessary, you may correspond with him. My health has not suffered at all. I tried to live only on fruit, but resumed milk because I found that I was losing weight. The fruits contained no seeds, of course.

I don't remember anything about the three stories. If you help me, I may be able to refresh my memory and try to read them. Left to myself, I am not likely to have the courage or enthusiasm to take up anything to read.

SHRI KAKA SAHEB KALELKAR
SWAVALAMBAN PATHSHALA
CHINCHVAD

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12236

279. LETTER TO RAMANIYARAM G. TRIPATHI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Asadha Vad 11, August 4, 1926

BHAISHRI RAMANIYARAM,

I have your letter. I knew Vibhakar so little that I don't think I can send any reminiscences of him which may be useful to you. I remember nothing about him except his cheerful nature.

I keep good health. At the moment I cannot think of any circumstance which may take me out of Ahmedabad before 20th December. In case, however, I go to Bombay for a day or two, you may certainly ask me to spare time for your Association. It is not at all true that I have started teaching the Bible in the Vidyapith. How can I help if the papers do not leave me alone? They do not let me do anything in peace. If my peace of mind depended on external circumstances, they would have driven me mad long ago. I asked the students to choose in what manner they would like me to spend one hour with them every week. They have decided to put questions to me every Saturday. If any time was left after answering their questions, I might read the New Testament with them. On the first Saturday, the one hour was over before all the questions could be answered. I don't know what will happen next time. Apart from this, I should certainly like the students to learn to think about religious issues. All possible efforts are being made towards that end. It was only yesterday I got the report of the committee appointed to inquire into the running of the Vidyapith. I shall, now, consider what to do with it. Most probably, it will be published in a few days.[1] What can I write for *Samalochak*, which would satisfy you and its readers? Anything I write will be about spinning. If I range further afield, I may write a little about *Antyajas*. What use will such an article be to you these days? The poor *Antyaja* is making very, very slow progress, at a snail's pace, so to say. One day,

[1] The report of the Inquiry Committee headed by Anandshankar Dhruva was published in *Navajivan* on August 15, 1926.

I am sure, he will cease to be "poor", and that will be the right time for you to ask for an article from me.

SHRI RAMANIYARAM GOVARDHANRAM TRIPATHI
DR. PAI BUILDING
SANDHURST ROAD
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12237

280. LETTER TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ

August 4, 1926

CHI. RADHAKRISHNA,

I have your letter. I can give only one reply in regard to the Hindu-Muslim problem. Hindus should bear patiently every form of suffering. This does not, of course, mean that they should forsake their dharma. Employ all your spare time in spinning.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ
SIKAR

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19940

281. KHADI IN KARNATAK

Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande sends me regarding his khaddar activities a letter which I condense below:[1]

The problem of inducing paid spinners to improve their yarn and weavers to take up hand-spun yarn is causing difficulty everywhere. Patience and perseverance combined with acquisition of scientific knowledge about the methods of improving hand-spun yarn is the only remedy. Weavers will readily take up hand-spun yarn if it is even, strong and properly hanked. They have no time for thinking of patriotism, all of their time being used up in keeping the wolf from the door. They, therefore, seek

[1] The letter is not given here. Gangadharrao Deshpande had written in detail about the progress of khadi work, at a centre 18 miles from Belgaum where spinners and weavers from the agricultural class worked during their leisure hours.

the easiest work. And unless we make weaving of hand-spun yarn as easy as that of mill-spun, we must not expect many weavers to take it up. The secret, therefore, lies in hand-spun yarn being improved in quality. And, this is only possible, when we have an army of expert voluntary spinners who know all about spinning, who know a good spinning-wheel from bad, and who, having love for the semi-starved spinners, will go to them, patiently reason with them and finally steel into their hearts, so as to induce the spinners to make the necessary improvement in their wheels and understand the method of drawing finer, stronger and more even yarn. The thing is difficult. It is not impossible. But, the difficulty of the task and the extent it covers make it a matter of first-class national importance. And, as it admits of immediate returns, and therefore its accomplishment is within reach, it does not need unlimited capital.

Young India, 5-8-1926

282. *'TOWARDS MORAL BANKRUPTCY'-VI*

After having insisted on chastity before and during marriage and shown by overwhelming proof that not only is self-restraint not impossible, not harmful, but perfectly possible and wholly beneficial both to the mind and the body, M. Bureau devotes a chapter to the value and possibility of perpetual continence. The following opening paragraph is worth reproducing:

> In the first rank of these liberators, these heroes of the true sexual emancipation, it is only right to name the young men and women who, the better to devote themselves to the service of a great cause, choose to remain all their life in chastity, and renounce the joys of marriage. The reasons for their resolve vary according to circumstances: one feels it a duty to remain with an infirm father or mother; another takes the place, to orphaned brothers and sisters, of the departed parents; another desires to devote himself or herself entirely to the service of science or art, of the poor or the sick, or to a work of moral education or of prayer. Similarly, the merit of the voluntary sacrifice may be greater or less; some, thanks to the benefits of a wise protective education and the practice of a good moral hygiene, are almost without sensual temptations; others, more advanced in the path of virtue, have succeeded, it may be at the cost of sharp conflicts of which they alone know the hardness, in mastering the beast and taming the flesh. On any supposition, the final resolve is the same: these men and women have been led to think that the best way

for them to serve is not to marry; and they have entered into an engagement, it may be with themselves, it may be with God, to remain in the perfect chastity of the celibate life. However definite and undoubted may be the duty of marriage, as we shall see, under certain circumstances, all these resolutions are legitimate, because they are inspired by a noble and generous purpose. "Painting is a jealous mistress who suffers no rival," replied Michael Angelo when marriage was suggested to him; and how many after him have had a like experience!

I can corroborate this testimony from the experience of European friends of almost every description given by M. Bureau, friends who exercised perpetual restraint. It is only in India that from childhood we must hear of marriages. Parents have no other thought, no other ambition save that of seeing their children well married and provided for. The one thing brings premature decay of mind and body and the other induces idleness and often makes of one a parasite. We exaggerate the difficulty of chastity and voluntary poverty and impute extraordinary merit to them, reserve them for mahatmas and yogis and rule the latter out of ordinary life, forgetting that real mahatmaship and yoga are unthinkable in a society where the ordinary level is brought down to the mudbank. On the principle that evil, like the hare, travels faster than good which like the tortoise, though steady, goes slow, voluptuousness of the West comes to us with lightning speed and with all its variegated enchantment dazzles and blinds us to the realities of life. We are almost ashamed of chastity and are in danger of looking upon self-imposed poverty as a crime in the face of the Western splendour that descends upon us from minute to minute through the cable and day to day through the steamers that discharge their cargo on our shores. But the West is not wholly what we see in India. Even as the South African Whites ill-judge us when they judge us through the Indian settlers, so shall we ill-judge the West through the human and the other Western cargo that delivers itself to us every day. There is in the West a small but inexhaustible reservoir of purity and strength which those who have eyes of penetration may see beneath the deceptive surface. Throughout the European desert there are oases from which those who will may drink the purest water of life. Chastity and voluntary poverty are adopted without brag, without bluster, and in all humility by hundreds of men and women, often for no other than the all-sufficing cause of service of some dear one or of the country. We often prate about spirituality as if it had nothing to do with the ordinary affairs of life and had been reserved for anchorites lost in

the Himalayan forests or concealed in some inaccessible Himalayan cave. Spirituality that has no bearing on and produces no effect on everyday life is 'an airy nothing'. Let young men and women for whose sake *Young India* is written from week to week know that it is their duty if they would purify the atmosphere about them and shed their weakness, to be and remain chaste and know too that it is not so difficult as they have been taught to imagine.

Let us further listen to M. Bureau:

> In proportion as it (modern sociology) follows the evolution of our manners, and as methodical study digs more deeply the soil of social realities, the better is the value perceived of the help which the practice of perpetual chastity brings to the great work of the discipline of the senses. . . . If marriage is the normal state of life for the immense majority of people, it cannot be that all can, or ought to, marry. Even putting aside the exceptional vocations of which we have just spoken, there are at least three classes of celibates who cannot be blamed for not being married: the young people of both sexes who for professional or economic reasons think it a duty to defer their marriage; the people who are involuntarily condemned to celibacy because they cannot find a suitable partner; finally, those who ought to abstain from marriage in consequence of their physiological defects that could be transmitted, and in some who are strictly bound to renounce all idea of it. Is it not evident, then, that the renunciation made by these people, doubly necessary both for their own happiness and the interests of society, will be rendered so much the less painful and so much the more cheerful, because they will find beside them others who, in full possession of their physical and intellectual vigour and sometimes with abundant means have declared their firm resolution to remain celibate all their lives? These voluntary and choice celibates, who have willed to consecrate themselves to God without reserve, to prayer and to the training of the souls, declare that in their eyes celibacy, far from being a reduced condition of life, is on the contrary a superior state, in which man asserts, in its plenitude, the mastery of the will over instinct.

The author says:

> To young people of both the sexes, who are still too young to marry, perpetual celibacy shows that it is possible to pass one's youth chastely; to the married it recalls the duty which lies upon them to maintain exact discipline in their conjugal relations and never to allow a consideration of self-interest, however legitimate it may be in itself, to prevail over the higher demands of moral generosity.

Foerster says:

The vow of the voluntary celibate far from degrading marriage, is on the contrary the best support of the sanctity of the conjugal bond, since it represents in a concrete form man's freedom in the face of the pressure of his nature. It acts like a conscience with regard to passing whims and sensual assaults. Celibacy is also a protection to marriage in the sense that its existence prevents married people from looking upon themselves in their mutual relations as mere slaves to obscure natural forces, and it leads them to take openly in the face of nature, the position of free beings who are capable of mastery. Those who scoff at perpetual celibacy as unnatural or impossible do not know really what they are doing. They fail to see that the line of thought which makes them talk as they do must necessarily lead, by strict logic, to prostitution and polygamy. If the demand of nature is irresistible, how can a chaste life be required of married people? And, lastly, they forget the great number of marriages in which, it may be for several months or years, or even for life, one of the spouses is condemned to a real celibacy by the sickness or other disability of the partner. For this reason alone, true monogamy rises or falls with the esteem that is paid to celibacy.

Young India, 5-8-1926

283. ENFORCED WIDOWHOOD

Sir Ganga Ram has published a valuable table giving the number of widows throughout India with subsidiary tables for each province. The tables should be in the hands of every reformer.

Not many will agree with Sir Ganga Ram about the order, in which, according to him, reform should proceed. He gives the order thus:

1st. Social Reformation.

2nd. Economic Reformation.

3rd. Swaraj or Political Emancipation.

Not so thought Sir Ganga Ram's predecessors every whit as keen social reformers as himself. Ranade, Gokhale, Chandavarkar considered swaraj to be as important as social reform. Lokamanya Tilak felt no less for social reform. But he and his predecessors recognized and realized the necessity of all branches of reform proceeding side by side. Indeed Lokamanya and Gokhale considered political reform to be of greater urgency than the others. They held that our political serfdom incapacitated us for any other work.

The fact is that political emancipation means the rise of mass consciousness. It cannot come without affecting all the branches of national activity. Every reform means an awakening. Once truly awakened the nation will not be satisfied with reform only in one department of life. All movements must therefore proceed, everyone proceeding simultaneously.

But one need not quarrel[1] with Sir Ganga Ram about his arrangement of the order of the needed reform. One cannot but acknowledge his zeal for social reform even though one may not agree with his political or economic panaceas. The figures he has given us are truly appalling. "Who will not weep", he asks, "over the figures which show the misery caused by child marriages and enforced widowhood?" Here are the figures of Hindu widows according to the census of 1921:

Widows of ages up to 5	11,892
Widows from 5 to 10	85,037
Widows from 10 to 15	2,32,147
	3,29,076

The figures are also given for the two previous censuses. The total of 1921 is a triple higher than for the two decades. The widows of the other classes are also given. They only demonstrate still further the enormity of the wrong done to the Hindu girl widows. We cry out for cow-protection in the name of religion, but we refuse protection to the human cow in the shape of the girl widow. We would resent[2] force in religion. But in the name of religion we force widowhood upon our three lacs of girl widows who could not understand the import of the marriage ceremony. To force widowhood upon little girls is a brutal crime for which we Hindus are daily paying dearly. If our conscience was truly awakened there would be no marriage before 15, let alone widowhood, and we would declare that these three lacs of girls were never religiously married. There is no warrant in any Shastra for such widowhood. Voluntary widowhood consciously adopted by a woman who has felt the affection of a partner adds grace and dignity to life, sanctifies the home and uplifts religion itself. Widowhood imposed by religion or custom is an unbearable yoke and defiles the home by secret vice and degrades religion.

[1] The original had 'one did not quarrel', an error; *vide* "Corrections", 12-8-1926.

[2] The source had 'we would resort', an error; *vide* "Corrections", 12-8-1926.

And does not this Hindu widowhood stink in one's nostrils when one thinks of old and diseased men over 50 taking or rather purchasing girl wives sometimes one on the top of another? So long as we have thousands of widows in our midst we are sitting on a mine which may explode at any moment. If we would be pure, if we would save Hinduism, we must rid ourselves of this poison of enforced widowhood. The reform must begin by those who have girl widows taking courage in both their hands and seeing that the child widows in their charge are duly and well married—not re-married. They were never really married.

Young India, 5-8-1926

284. SPINNING IN SCHOOLS

The following information about spinning in the municipal schools of Banaras will be read with interest:

No. of schools		34
No. of teachers		175
No. of pupils		4,000
No. of teachers who have received instruction in carding and spinning		All
No. of pupils who have received instruction in carding and spinning		578
Average No. of spinning-wheels per school		10
Present average monthly output of yarn		30 seers
Average count of yarn		10
Total quantity of cloth woven from the yarn		1,000 yards
Total output of yarn from the commencement		4 mds.
Year of introduction of spinning in the schools		1924
Total expenses incurred so far:		
(a) Cotton	Rs.	747
(b) Charkhas	,,	1,500
(c) Repair of charkhas	,,	50
(d) Contingency	,,	63 per month

(e) Other special expenses	,,	40	,,
(f) Inspection	,,	39	,,

The total output of yarn from the commencement to date cannot be said to be very great. 10 wheels per school cannot be expected to give much for the simple reason that they are too few to be shared by all the children every day. I would, therefore, commend to the Municipality the introduction of the *takli* and it will be found that the output can be easily trebled without any substantial increase in the expenses. There would be no repairs required and every rupee saved. Every minute utilized will be so much added to the income. The Banaras Municipality has led the way in hand-spinning. I hope that it will not hesitate to introduce a reform which experience has proved is most desirable so far as schools are concerned.

Young India, 5-8-1926

285. LETTER TO DHIRENDRA CHANDRA LATIRY

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 5, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Here are my answers to your questions:

(1) The aim of life should be self-purification.

(2) The voidness of life is removed by filling it with selfless service.

(3) Every wrong must carry its penalty. But when a person attains sinlessness, there is no consciousness of penalty because there is no consciousness of person sinned. You have to cease to think of the girl you have wronged and, that you will do when you appreciate the measure of the wrong and understand that she must be in the place of a blood-sister.

(4) In any case, there must be no thought of marriage so long as you think of the girl.

(5) Selfishness can only be removed by devoted service of others without any expectations of reward.

(6) Animal passion can be restrained by realizing that we are men and not brutes. We are men destined to control our passions because we have outlived the mere animal life.

(7) Concentration comes by devoting oneself to some single pure act of service.

(8) One can learn to endure sorrows and [mis]fortunes by realizing that these are the common lot of all mortals. The wonder is that we have few[er] than many others.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. DHIRENDRA CHANDRA LATIRY
C/O SAILENDRA NATH LATIRY, ESQ.
PRESIDENCY JAIL
ALIPUR P.O.
(24 PARGANAS)

From a photostat: S.N. 10975

286. LETTER TO BACHHARAJ JAMNALAL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Asadha Vad 12, 1982 [*August 5, 1926*]

SHETH BACHHARAJ JAMNALALJI,

I got your letter and the cheque for Rs. 5,000 accompanying it. The receipt is enclosed. Your draft of the receipt for the money received from Rangoon is all right. Kindly write out the receipt accordingly and send it. I am returning the draft herewith.

In the note which you may prepare for publication in *Young India* please also include the list which you sent to me.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHETH BACHHARAJ JAMNALALJI
KALBADEVI
BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12239

287. LETTER TO P. V. SHUKLA

THE ASHRAM,
August 5, 1926

BHAISHRI PRADYUMNARAI,

I have your letter. My position is very unhappy. It is next to impossible to promise a person that his letter will not be read by anyone. My correspondence is so vast, numerous that I can give no such promise. All that I can say, therefore, is that no one will see your letter except those who handle letters addressed to me. I can say this because I always destroy letters like yours. Were it not so, I would not be able to promise even that. Most of my letters, too, I am obliged to dictate.

Vandemataram from
M. GANDHI

SHRI P. V. SHUKLA
WADEKAR BUILDING, ROOM NO. 31
DECCAN GYMKHANA, POONA

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19941

288. LETTER TO G. SITARAMA SASTRY

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Mr. Banker tells me that he has been writing to you repeatedly for figures for the province and such other information as it is necessary to complete the record of khadi work throughout India. But he tells me that he is not able to get complete figures from Andhra. I wish you could attend to this matter and have the figures completed and sent.

You will see the table I have published in *Young India*. I want to make that table exhaustive. But I cannot do it if principal centres will not supply me the information. Will you please tell me what difficulty there is in preparing and supplying the figures?

Yours sincerely,

G. SITARAMA SASTRY
GUNTUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 11219

289. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 6, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have seen the correspondence about Utkal. As soon as Niranjan Babu's letter was received arrangements were made to send him Rs. 5,000.[1] He must have now got them already. You are certainly not relieved of your charge about Utkal. What did happen was that as a result of the papers sent by Niranjan Babu, I asked Narayandas to carry on correspondence with him so as to elucidate further facts and learn more about the position. But there was no question of managing Utkal directly from here. When he returns, I may write further in the matter. Meanwhile, I remember one condition of his which appealed to me. Now that the Utkal work is our concern, there need be no special inspector to report upon the Utkal work. Niranjan Babu himself is our man.

Mr. Mavalankar, our pleader, says that the cessation of Sir P. C. Ray's Trust-deed is no security unless the shares included in the trust-deed are also ceded. As a matter of form, I think Mr. Mavalankar is right and, seeing that the security is given, it should be complete. Will there be any difficulty about getting possession of the shares? I enclose a copy of Mr. Mavalankar's letter[2] for your information.

You will see the statistics published in the current issue of *Young India*. Do please ask someone to prepare a table for me for Khadi Pratishthan work.

How is Hemaprabha Devi now?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
170, BOW BAZAAR STREET
CALCUTTA

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Jamnalal Bajaj", on or after 3-8-1926.
[2] This is not available.

PS.

I saw from a copy of your letter to the Association that you have got Rs. 5,000 at 6% and another Rs. 5,000 at 12% interest. I hope this is sound business. I have warned you that for a public worker, who works with sufficient detachment to raise a private loan, more particularly to pay interest, is a dangerous pastime. But you know best what to do and what to avoid.

From a microfilm: S.N. 11220

290. *LETTER TO GANGA BEHN*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 6, 1926

MY DEAR SISTER,

I see you have begun to write English though not Gujarati. Why do you say, "how can my husband teach little children?" Is it not a privilege to teach them? And, you will render clean and sanitary what is now dirty and insanitary. I understand your attachment for Ahmedabad. But I do not want you to give up the struggle there. And, having given this caution, I can say: Come whenever you wish and regard this as your home.

Yours sincerely,

SHRIMATI GANGA BEN
C/o ACHARYA GIDWANI
BRINDABAN

From a microfilm: S.N. 11270

291. LETTER TO A. T. GIDWANI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 6, 1926

MY DEAR GIDWANI,

I have your letter. The spindles also have now been received. The spindles are not good. They bend at the end under the slightest pressure. It is such a delicate thing that even whilst filing, it becomes heated and it requires, therefore, cooling from time to time. I hope you have not got the specimen spindles. It will be a great thing if the workshop there can turn out such spindles. There are pending orders for several thousands. The specimens you have sent are also not true. If a spindle is not absolutely correct, it wobbles as it revolves and wobbling is fatal to good spinning.

I send a specimen of *takli* also with Bharat, the young man, who will be sent as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,

ACHARYA A. T. GIDWANI
PRINCIPAL,
PREM MAHA-VIDYALAYA
BRINDABAN

From a microfilm: S.N. 11271

292. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL GANDHI

THE ASHRAM,
August 6, 1926

BHAISHRI CHHOTALAL,

I have your letter. Sometimes, it is difficult to know one's dharma. After becoming member of the managing committee of a bank, you can do nothing outside rules and regulations of the bank. I am sure there is no rule, there cannot be any, that money cannot be advanced to a person following a particular profession or belonging to a particular faith. What has occurred suggests, however, that you should not be member of an institution like a bank. If you are, you certainly share in the wrongs

committed in its running. My view is that, so long as you are member of a bank, you should think only of the safety of the bank's money in casting your vote without taking into account the religion and profession of the applicant.

Vandemataram from
M

SHRI CHHOTALAL GHELABHAI GANDHI
ANKLESHVAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19943

293. *LETTER TO NANABHAI BHATT*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday, Asadha Vad 13 [August 6, 1926][1]

BHAISHRI NANABHAI,

This is not Monday so that you can have a letter written in my own hand. Credit to my account the time you would save in reading the letter. I had stated, in your own words, a distinction made by you. Even if you make it, I have no fear that you will neglect my work. For the work of the Vidyapith is not mine alone; it is as much the work of you all as it is mine. The sum of the efforts of us all, whatever it comes to, should be offered up to the Lord. I don't see any difference in the new solution which you now suggest. I fully endorse your view that a teacher can propagate spinning only in his capacity as teacher. You may look upon khadi and the allied activities as the beginning of education; its end is reached only when we attain *moksha*[2].

I was the person who suggested that Narahari[3] should go to Surat and it was he who had asked that a limit be set for the period of his stay there. If now he decides to stay on, not because I want him to do so but of his own free will, and identifies himself with the school, I will not oppose him at all. My opposition is because of his restlessness. He soon tires of anything

[1] Reference in the letter to Narahari Parikh's going to Surat suggests that the letter was written in 1926.

[2] Deliverance from phenomenal existence

[3] Narahari Parikh; he was asked to work as head master of the national school at Surat.

which he takes up, if his work does not yield tangible results. We should not, because he is tired of it, let him give up the work[1] in Sarbhon. Narahari is free to do what he thinks best after taking into consideration all these factors. It has not occurred to me even in my dreams that he should not remain in charge of the shcool at Surat. I merely wish that he should not fail in his dharma.

DAKSHINAMURTI—BHAVNAGAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12212

294. *LETTER TO RAMANAND*

THE ASHRAM,
August 6, 1926

BHAI RAMANANDJI,

I have your letter. What help can I give you in your work for the uplift of the depressed classes? In what way can I help one who enjoys the patronage of Swamiji[2] himself? The persons whom I approach for help in the cause of the depressed classes are the same to whom Swamiji goes. What more can my recommendation to Jugal Kishoreji[3] do? Your leaflet is much too vague from the point of view of *Young India.*

Yours,
MOHANDAS

SHRI RAMANANDJI
DALITODDHAR SABHA
DELHI

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19942-a

[1] Of the Swarajya Ashram at Sarbhon, a village of the Surat district in Gujarat

[2] Swami Shraddhanand

[3] Jugal Kishore Birla

295. LETTER TO DEBENDRA NATH MAITRA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 7, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The word khaddar certainly does not include all other home industry. But it is not antagonistic to them. Spinning by way of sacrifice is undoubtedly necessary for everyone, no matter what cottage industry he might have taken up. A man who uses his leisure time in spinning by way of sacrifice certainly does better than the one who uses that time for engaging in an industry which gives him more money, because, in the latter case there is no sacrifice and, therefore, no identification with the poor.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. DEBENDRA NATH MAITRA
25, BARAKUTHI ROAD, KHAGRA
DT. MURSHIDABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 11221

296. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Saturday, Asadha Vad 14 [August 7, 1926][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If you carry sterilized milk with you and see that it is kept in the ice-chamber, I am sure it will not go bad. Moreover, the ship will be stopping at ports on the way. You can get a fresh stock of milk at every such port. The ship authorities will certainly let you carry two or three goats. In some ships they carry even cows. When the proposal of my visit to Finland was being considered,[2] we had certainly thought of

[1] From the postmark

[2] In April 1926 Gandhiji had received an invitation to attend the World Students' Conference which was to be held in Finland in August 1926. In June 1926 Gandhiji had to decline this invitation formerly accepted by him.

taking goats. Besides, you get Nestles' condensed milk, both sweet and plain. You can live even on that. Failing everything else, there is Horlicks' malted milk, which is but dried milk. It is available in the form of powder and can safely be taken in place of fresh milk. Besides, the worst coming to the worst, if the goat dies one day through an accident, the Horlicks bottle breaks and the contents of the Nestle tin turn out to be bad, you can certainly live on fruit on that day. If somehow you can keep up this regimen, I have no doubt that your health will be completely restored. We can discuss this further if you can break journey and see me on your way [to Bombay].

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 3206. Courtesy: Mahesh Pattani; also G.N. 5892

297. *LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Saturday, Asadha Vad 14, August 7, 1926

BHAI FULCHAND,

I have your letter. I send with this a draft for Rs. 500 for the national school. I am sending another for Rs. 300 to Mulchandbhai also. I had lost some weight because I had given up milk. Now that I have resumed it, the weight is slowly increasing. I have gained one and a quarter pounds in the past seven days.

If the conference is arranged on a Friday and Saturday during February, it would suit me; it would not be inconvenient to me even if it is held on a Wednesday.

SHRI FULCHAND K. SHAH
NATIONAL SCHOOL
WADHWAN

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12241

298. LETTER TO MULCHAND U. PAREKH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Saturday, Asadha Vad 14, August 7, 1926

BHAI MULCHANDBHAI,

Shri Fulchand tells me in his letter that you have Rs. 200 with you. You may spend it. I send with this a draft for Rs. 300.

SHRI MULCHAND U. PAREKH
VARTEJ
KATHIAWAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12242

299. LETTER TO RAMESHWAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Saturday, Asadha Krishnapaksha 14 [August 7, 1926][1]

BHAI RAMESHWARJI,

I have your letter. I did not decide on my own to teach the Bible to the boys. They themselves wanted it. Those who claim to follow the *sanatana*[2] dharma should not be ignorant of other religions. By studying other faiths, we only serve the cause of religion. We should not be afraid of such study.

As far as possible, you should avoid going to court. If you have no charkha, then use a *takli.*

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 165

[1] From the postmark
[2] Eternal

300. LETTER TO JUGAL KISHORE BIRLA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, August 7, 1926

BHAISHRI JUGAL KISHORE,

I have your letter. You will have seen what I have said about the Bible in *Young India*. You ought to be satisfied. I have also seen what is said in the *Vishwamitra*. I shall only say that if the children have to be taught the Bible, it had better be done by me. If they are taught by me they shall get but one thing, viz., *Ramanama*, which is the essence of all religions. If people abuse what I say or do, it cannot harm me or my principles. How can truth be abused? Its abuse turns into its right use. That is why truth is given the highest place in the Upanishads. It is called God. If you are still not satisfied, do write again.

SRI JUGAL KISHORE BIRLA
SABZIMANDI, DELHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: S.N. 12269

301. BULLOCK v. *CAR*

Kaka Saheb writes:[1]

Kaka Saheb's argument deserves serious attention, especially these days when, almost every week, *Navajivan* carries an article on the best means of protecting cows. Just as, if we stop consuming milk, however hard we strike in the cause of cow-protection, people will never respond to our efforts, so also, if we stop utilizing the services of bullocks for agricultural and other purposes, it will be impossible to protect them. No person in this world has found it possible to maintain something which is a source of constant economic loss. That is why I have many times suggested that if dharma and economic interests cannot be reconciled, either the conception of that dharma is false or the

[1] Not translated here. Kaka Kalelkar had argued that the increasing use of the motor-car held a threat to the village economy, since it would deprive cultivators of the extra income earned by bullocks by transporting goods. *Vide* also "Letter to D. B. Kalelkar", 4-8-1926.

economic interest takes the form of unmitigated selfishness, and does not aim at collective welfare. True dharma always promotes legitimate economic pursuits. For imperfect man, this is a fine test of whether what purports to be dharma is true dharma. In big cities cows and buffaloes have become a burden from the point of view of general economy and that is why their slaughter is increasing day by day. If we do not know the right use of cows and buffaloes in big cities, do what we will, we shall never be able to save them—let no one have any doubt about this. At the moment it seems that we have reached a stage when we simply cannot do without railways. If, however, we realize that railways have not been on the whole a blessing to the country we can restrict their use when we get power. Similarly, even if we cannot banish the motor-car altogether, we must limit the sphere of its use. Everyone should feel that we simply cannot have our fields ploughed by machine and leave the bullocks entirely at the mercy of human beings. The economic structure of the country will be worthy of our admiration and will endure only if it is in keeping with the conditions in the country. Our wisdom and our culture will be judged from our ability to plan an economy which takes into account the conditions prevailing in the country.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 8-8-1926

302. NATIONAL SCHOOLS

An experienced worker writes:[1]

Let us first examine the analogy of the snake-bite before considering the argument advanced. An analogy is always a little dangerous because two things are rarely, if ever, similar in all respects. And if there is absence of similarity in the essentials, the analogy cannot hold and becomes misleading. In snake-bite, there is hope of revival, the doctor has not declared the person dead; and if the body is cremated there can be no question of removing the poison. Therefore it is sometimes considered advisable to keep the body for two or three days for we do not

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent, while agreeing that the national schools which fell short of the ideal should be closed down, had argued that they should not be closed down merely on account of the hostility of parents.

have the power to recreate a body which has been burnt. But in the case of the so-called national school which I want should either be reformed or closed down, there will not be any of these three considerations to be taken into account, that is to say, there will be no possibility of its acquiring a national character. It is desirable that a school which has been pronounced dead after examination by a doctor and which being the creation of man can be revived, should be closed down. The continuance of these schools results in the spread of falsehood among us; money collected in the name of national schools is spent on these pseudo-national schools which is a betrayal of the trust of the donors; and the true national schools suffer in the estimation of the people because they are led to judge them from what they see in these pseudo-national schools. Those who collect funds for them lose their credit and money being received in the name of national schools stops coming in. If there are to be such undesirable results, it is better to take up a real national school, however small, and concentrate all our attention on it to make it a success. It would behove us and there will be truth and practical sense in it. Just as no construction work is possible out of bricks made of sand spick together somehow, and if we continue with it there is greater burden and loss, an increase in the number of these so-called national schools merely adds to our burden and harms our cause. In the event of tide we can easily multiply the number of national schools even if there is only one true national school. But to produce anything good from a large number of schools national in name only is an utter impossibility. Not only that, if the need for national schools does arise at some future date, the first thing we shall have to do then will be to try to put an end to these pseudo-national schools.

Therefore where either the parents or the teachers are opposed to the national ideal, the national school should certainly be closed down. Where the parents are fired by national ideals and prove their feelings by giving adequate donations for the support of national schools, and, where the teachers being themselves believers in the national ideal are ceaselessly striving to enforce it, I can understand a relaxation of the discipline if the scholars are lukewarm about the ideal. In such a case, it may be necessary to continue the school. For we may hope some day to influence the scholars. But at the time of writing these lines, I can think of no such school.[1]

[1] This paragraph is taken from *Young India*, 2-9-1926.

My own experience is that where the national ideal is found wanting, the fault lies at the door of the teacher. The instance quoted is that of a school where the teachers are enthusiastic, the pupils indifferent and the parents hostile. Where the parents object to their children learning hand-spinning and wearing khadi and threaten to withdraw their children if untouchable children are admitted, I see nothing but waste of the people's time and loss of self-respect for a teacher to carry on his work. If we conduct national schools in spite of the opposition of parents, we would be guilty of the same fault that we impute to the Christian missionaries. We have no right to impart instruction to children against the wish of their parents and to create family dissensions. Those pupils who are over 16 years of age and who understand their interest, who are capable of suffering hardships, do not stand in need of protection. They have become self-reliant. For such, wherever necessary, we should open schools and undoubtedly conduct the existing ones. But do we have such pupils anywhere in India? How many are they? And where are the schools in which there are students who can be likened to godly, fearless, long-suffering and yet wise and respectful Prahlad? When myriads of such scholars are produced, India will overflow with new life and no one will want to know where swaraj is.

And in order to produce a harvest of such scholars, we need to conduct only true national schools even though they may have only a few scholars. Where parents feel that they are obliging the teachers by sending their children to a national school, the pupils lord it over the teachers, and where the threat is held out directly or indirectly that if no assistance is rendered they will side with the Government, we must assure that there is no national school and we ought to close down a school which is run only in name. We have now understood what non-co-operation is. We are in a position to appraise its value. The people are not ignorant of its dangers. And, therefore, the way of non-co-operating schools is clear. Let us never deceive ourselves. Let us take the ups and downs in our stride and let us continue our work remaining firm in all faith and all will be well in the end.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 8-8-1926

303. PRINCIPAL DHRUVA AND NATIONAL EDUCATION

Principal Anandshankar writes as follows:[1]

When I read the letter in question I certainly did not feel that it in any way accused Principal Dhruva or Acharya Gidwani[2] of being against national education. To other readers who do not know them, however, it may suggest a meaning which it did not to me because I know them well. Anandshankarbhai's letter was thus really called for. His happy and close association with the Vidyapith and the fact of his having accepted the chairmanship of the Vidyapith Enquiry Committee are enough evidence of his sympathy for the ideals of national education. As for Acharya Gidwani, he was himself Principal of the national college. The love and affection for him which the students displayed at the time of his leaving[3] the Vidyapith and the speedy collection by them of Rs. 1,500 for a scholarship for encouraging *Antyaja* uplift work, which was to be named after him in order to keep alive the memory of his association with the Vidyapith are irrefutable evidence of his faith in national education.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-8-1926

304. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 8, 1926

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your letter. At least at the top of it you have my own writing and, for the time being it should be enough. I too detest the typewriter. I have a horror of it, but I survive it as I survive many things which do not do lasting harm. If someone dispossessed me of the typewriter, I should not shed a single tear, but, as it is there, I make use of it and, even believe that

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had referred to a letter from "A Non-co-operating Father" published in *Navajivan*, 18-7-1926, which seemed to suggest that he was opposed to national education.

[2] A. T. Gidwani

[3] Early in 1926.

some time is being saved for more useful work. But, even in this belief, I may be totally wrong. It is so difficult to rise superior to one's surroundings always.

Evidently Anne Marie is doing great and good work. Prejudices die hard! But, wherever there is earnestness, there is no difficulty about breaking down the hardest prejudices.

It will be a nice thing when Menon has his own hospital. Mirabehn wanted to go through 7 days' fast as a spiritual experience. She completed it this morning and broke it on fruit juice. She took the fast extremely well though she has lost ten pounds in seven days. But that of course is nothing.

I do not expect much from the Viceroy. He may be well-meaning, but mere good intentions count for little. But as you have very properly guessed, I can only say, whether it takes long or short, salvation must come only through ourselves.

Yours,
BAPU

MRS. ESTHER MENON
PORTO NOVO

From a photostat: Courtesy: National Archives of India; also *My Dear Child*, p. 83

305. LETTER TO PARASRAM

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Sunday, Asadha 11, August 8, 1926

BHAI PARASRAMJI,

I got your letter, which made rather painful reading. It is true indeed that the programme of Council-entry has resulted in bitter quarrelling. But why should those who take no interest whatsoever in Councils feel unhappy about the matter? If we go on doing our best, truth is bound to triumph ultimately. The present is a difficult time, but we should not make ourselves unhappy about it if we are to retain our peace of mind.

SHRI PARASRAMJI
C/O CONGRESS COMMITTEE
BRADLAUGH HALL
LAHORE

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 12244

306. *LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Sravana Shukla 2, August 10, 1926

BHAISHRI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter, why this continued illness? You should take immediate measures and get cured. Jamnalalji is coming here to improve his health. When he is here, I will see what the matter is with him. If you, too, come and stay here just for a few days, I may have some idea of your health. What should I say about your latest donation? I am simply filled with wonder. I understand what you say about Rs. 70,000[1]. I will make every effort through the Spinners' Association to return it. I have taken it that I do not have to worry about the sum of Rs. 30,000, which you have advanced to Satis Babu[2]. I had followed your argument about the Assembly. You must have got my reply to that letter. Shastriji wrote to me about the reply you gave him. I am both pained and surprised by what you say about the cause of the Calcutta riot. I was very pleased by Malaviyaji's letter and the subsequent developments, too, were very good. I have decided to write on the subject.

SHRI GHANSHYAMDASJI BIRLA
SABZIMANDI
DELHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: S.N. 12245

[1] Received by Khadi Pratishthan in Bengal through the All-India Spinners' Association

[2] Who founded and managed Khadi Pratishthan

307. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Sravana Sud 2 [August 10, 1926]

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have your letter, and also Ghanshyamdas's. And your telegram too. It was good that you went to Sikar. Please see that now you do not change your mind about coming here direct from there. Ghanshyamdas tells me that your health, too, is none too good. I was alarmed by the news.

More when we meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2872

308. LETTER TO CHANDULAL DESAI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Sravana Sud 3, August 11, 1926

BHAISHRI CHANDULAL,

I have your letter. I can understand your difficulty. You need not feel embarrassed in writing about it to me. From where can I get the money to send to you? I am sure you will understand that I have no money with myself, and I should also like you to believe that my ability to get money from others is greatly limited. I understand that you want a loan. If so, why not raise the money on the security of the buildings you have constructed? That seems to me the easiest way.

DR. CHANDULAL MANILAL DESAI
C/O MESSRS VAKIL BROTHERS
MANI BHUVAN, LABURNUM ROAD
GAMDEVI, BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12246

309. *JUSTICE FROM SIX THOUSAND MILES*

No conquest by force of arms is worth treasuring if it is not followed by cultural conquest, if the conquered do not hug their chains and regard the conqueror as their benefactor. The different forts of India are no doubt a continuous reminder of the British might. But the silent conquest of the mind of educated India is a surer guarantee of British stability than the formidable forts, i.e., if the opinion expressed by the distinguished lawyers in *Indian Daily Mail* on the very modest proposal of Sir Hari Singh Gour for the establishment of a Supreme Court at Delhi is an index of that mind. For, these eminent lawyers regard the proposal as premature, in that judgments of the Privy Council sitting six thousand miles away from India would command, in their opinion, greater respect and ensure greater impartiality. This amazing opinion, I venture to say, has no foundation in fact. But distance lends enchantment to the scene. Members of the Privy Council are, after all, human beings. They have been found to betray political bias. Their decisions in cases involving questions of custom are often distortions of the reality, not because they are perverse, but because it is not possible for mortals to know everything. A less trained lawyer having a direct knowledge of a local custom is better able to appraise evidence on it than those who, no matter what their attainments are, know nothing of local conditions.

The distinguished lawyers moreover state that expenses will not be less because the final court of appeal is brought down to Delhi. It does not say much for the patriotism of these eminent gentlemen, if they mean that the fees should be on the same scale in poor India as in rich England. A Scotch friend once told me that Englishmen were probably the most extravagant in the world in their tastes and requirements. He told me that hospitals in Scotland were far less expensively fitted than in England, though they were in no way inferior in usefulness to those in England. Or does a legal argument increase in weight with an increase in the fees charged?

The third argument pressed into service in order to oppose the proposed change is that Indian judges will not command the same weight as the wigged ones in White Hall. If this was not an argument advanced by distinguished lawyers, it would be laughed out. Is respect for judgments commended by their im-

partiality, or the location, or the birth, or the colour of the skin, of judges? And if it is the seat or the birth or the pigment that determines the weight to be attached to judges' decisions, is it not high time that the superstition was removed by removing the seat and appointing judges of Indian birth? Or does the argument presuppose partiality on the part of judges of Indian birth? One does sometimes hear of poor people under stress of ignorance desiring an English Collector in the place of an Indian. But greater fearlessness and sanity are surely to be expected of experienced lawyers.

But while, in my humble opinion, none of the three arguments advanced against the proposal has any force, the deciding reason for having our Supreme Court in India is that our self-respect demands it. Just as we cannot breathe with other's lungs, be they ever so much more powerful, so may we not borrow or buy justice from England. We must take pride in being satisfied with the work our own judges may give us. Trials by jury often result, all over the world, in defeating justice. But people everywhere gladly submit to the drawback for the sake of the more important result of the cultivation of an independent spirit among people and the justifiable sentiment of being judged by one's own peers. But sentiment is at a discount in legal circles. And yet it is sentiment that rules the world. Economics and every other consideration is often flung to the winds when sentiment predominates. Sentiment can be and must be regulated. It cannot be, ought never to be, eradicated. If it is not wrong to cherish patriotic feeling, it is surely not wrong to remove the final court of appeal to Delhi. Just as good government is no substitute for self-government, good justice, if foreign, is no substitute for home-made justice.

Young India, 12-8-1926

310. CORRECTIONS

I am aware of weak and faulty proof-reading and printing of *Young India*. But consistently with the desire of co-workers to save expenses, every effort is being made to avoid mistakes. But I am sorry to have to state that last week two grievous blunders crept into the article on "Enforced Widowhood".

In paragraph 5, "But one did not quarrel" should read "But one need not quarrel". In the last paragraph in the first column in the 5th line from the bottom on reads "We would resort to

force in religion". It should read "We would resent force in religion". I would not have noticed these errors if I did not know that there were many readers who filed their copies and earnestly studied *Young India* writings.

Young India, 12-8-1926

311. 'TOWARDS MORAL BANKRUPTCY'-VII

The chapter on perpetual continence is followed by chapters on the duty and indissolubility of marriage. Whilst the author contends that perpetual continence is the highest state, it is not possible for the multitude for whom marriage must be regarded as a duty. He shows if the function and limitations of marriage are rightly understood, there never can be any advocacy of contraceptives. It is the wrong moral training that has brought about the prevalent moral indiscipline. Having dealt with the opinion of 'advanced' writers ridiculing marriage the author says:

> Happily for future generations, this opinion of pseudo moralists and of writers who are often utterly lacking in moral sense, and equally so sometimes in the real literary spirit, is very far from being that of the true psychologists and sociologists of our time; and in nothing is the rupture more complete between the noisy world of the press, the novel, and the stage, and that other world where thought is cultivated, and the mysterious elements of our psychological and social life are studied in detail.

M. Bureau rejects the argument of free love. He holds that "marriage is the union of man and woman, the association for life, the communication of divine and human rights of law". Marriage is not a "mere civil contract" but a sacrament, a "moral obligation". It has succeeded in "making the gorilla stand erect".

> It is a great mistake to imagine that everything is permissible to those lawfully married and even supposing that husband and wife ordinarily respect the moral law as to transmission of life, it is untrue that it is lawful to *add* other modes of sexual intercourse which please them. This prohibition is as much in their interest as in that of society of which their marriage ought to be the maintenance and development.

The author holds that:

> The ever renewed opportunities of deviation from strict discipline which marriage affords to the sexual instinct are a constant menace to

true love. This peril can only be exorcised by watchfulness to keep the satisfaction of the sexual appetite within the limits defined by the very ends of marriage. "It is always dangerous," says St. Francis of Sales, "to take to violent medicines since if one takes more than should be taken, or if they are not well made up, much harm is done; marriage has been blessed and ordained partly as a remedy for concupiscence, and it is undoubtedly a very good remedy, but all the same a violent one, and consequently very dangerous if not discreetly used.

The author then combats the theory of individual liberty to contract or break the marriage bond at will or to live frankly a life of indulgence without its consequent obligation. He insists on monogamy and says:

It is untrue that the individual is at liberty to contract marriage or to remain in selfish celibacy, as he pleases; still less are duly married people free to agree together to the rupture of their union. Their freedom is shown when they choose each other, and each is bound to choose only with full knowledge, after careful thought, the one with whom he believes he can assume the responsibilities of the new life he is entering. But as soon as the marriage has been accomplished and consummated, the act performed involves, far away and in all directions, incalculable consequences which extend infinitely beyond the two persons who have brought them about. These consequences may be unperceived, in a time of anarchic individualism such as ours, by the spouses themselves, but their importance is certified by the grave sufferings which come upon the whole body social, as soon as the stability of the home is shaken, as soon as the variable caprice of the sensual appetite takes the place of the beneficent discipline of the positive monogamic union. To one who is conscious of these indefinitely extended repercussions and these subtle connections, it matters little to know that, since all human institutions are subject to the universal law of evolution, that of marriage must certainly, like all the rest, undergo in its turn necessary transformations, since there can be no doubt that progress in this direction can only take the form of eventually drawing more closely the marriage bond. The attacks now made on the rule of the indissolubility of marriage, when divorce is asked for by mutual consent, will only bring into more prominent relief the social value of a rule against which protest is made, and as the years roll by this rule, which for some centuries, when its social value could not yet be appreciated, was simply a prescription of religious discipline, will appear more and more as a principle as beneficial to the individual as it is salutary for society at large.

The rule of indissolubility is not an arbitrary adornment; on the contrary, it is bound up with the most delicate mechanism of the indi-

vidual and collective social life; and since people talk about evolution, they should ask on what condition this indefinite progress of the race which all agree to desire, is possible. The deepening of the sense of responsibility, the training of the individual towards autonomous discipline willingly consented to, the growth of patience and charity, the control of selfishness, the maintenance of the emotional life against the elements that make for dissolution and the impulse of passing caprice—all these are elements in man's interior life which we are entitled to consider the absolute and permanent conditions of all higher social culture, and on this account exempt from all such disorder as might result from a serious change in economic conditions. To tell the truth, economic progress is itself closely bound up with general social progress, for economic security and success depend in the long run on the sincerity and loyalty of our social co-operation. Every economic modification which ignores these fundamental conditions is self-condemned. If we wish, therefore, to take up the study, at once both moral and social, of the absolute value of the various methods of sexual relations, the following question is decisive: What method is the best adapted to the deepening and strengthening of our whole social life? Which is the most capable, at the different periods of life, of developing to the utmost the sense of responsibility, self-abnegation and sacrifice, of most effectively restraining undisciplined selfishness and capricious frivolity? When the matter is viewed from this standpoint, there is not the slightest doubt that monogamy, because of its social and educative value, must form part of the permanent heritage of all more advanced civilizations; and true progress will draw more closely, rather than relax, the marriage bond. . . . The family is the centre of all human preparation for the social life, that is to say, all preparation for responsibility, sympathy, self-control, mutual tolerance, and reciprocal training. And the family only fills this central place because it lasts all through life and is indissoluble, and because, thanks to this permanence, the common family life becomes deeper, more stable, more adapted to men's mutual intercourse than any other. It may be said that monogamic marriage is the conscience of all human social life.

He quotes Auguste Comte: "Our hearts are so changeable that society must intervene to hold in check the vacillation and caprices which would otherwise drag down human existence to be nothing but a series of non-worthy and pointless experiences. Satisfaction of lust is never the end of marriage."

"A fiction," writes Dr. Toulouse, "which often hinders the happiness of married people, is that the instinct of love is a tyrant and must be satisfied at any price . . . Now the very characteristic quality of man, and the apparent end of his evolution, is an ever growing independence of his appetites. The child learns to master his coarser needs, and the adult

to overcome his passions. This scheme of all good upbringing is not chimerical, nor something outside practical life for the end of our nature is precisely to be subject, in great degree, to the personal tendencies which constitute our will. What one shelters behind as 'temperament' is usually nothing but weakness. The man who is really strong knows how to use his powers at the right time."

Young India, 12-8-1926

312. TRIUMPH OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Pundit Malaviyaji's triumph is a national victory. Disrupted and demoralized though we are at the present moment, Punditji has shown that there is still courage left in us to defy the might of the mightiest empire. To have issued notice light-heartedly against one of the oldest and most respected and best-known of India's public servants was an insolent exhibition of power. Let us assume for the moment that the Government had sufficient grounds for fearing Pundit Malaviyaji's presence in Calcutta at a time when they were trying to bring about peace. It was still wrong to have dealt summarily with a man of Punditji's position in the Indian world. It would not have derogated from the Acting Governor's dignity if he had written a private note to Punditji or if he had invited him for a conference and placed before him the evidence in his possession and told him to absent himself in the interests of peace which Punditji claimed to desire as much as the Governor himself. In every one of his public speeches Punditji has put emphasis upon the desirability of peace. But the Government is too disdainful of public opinion even to think of any such courteous action. It expected Punditji and Dr. Moonje to take the order with due and humble submission. The Government evidently expected that non-co-operation was dead, that civil disobedience died even before non-co-operation and was decently buried at Bardoli, and that the Congress resolutions on civil disobedience were all idle threats. The Bengal Government has now discovered its mistake. Punditji's letter is a lesson in self-restraint combined with firmness. His following up the letter with action, his refusal to see the Magistrate and his triumphant entry into Calcutta, his advice to the people not to lose their heads, not to demonstrate, and his quiet continuance of his programme as if nothing had happened, furnish an object-lesson in perfect civil disobedience. It is to be hoped that the Government will understand that civil disobedience has come to

stay and when occasion demands it, there will be more than one person in the country to adopt it.

Both Hindus and Mussalmans will commit a serious blunder if we consider that the serving of notice on Punditji and Dr. Moonje was an anti-Hindu and pro-Mahommedan act. With the Government all is grist that comes to its mill. If today it is a distinguished Hindu who has been served with a notice, it will be tomorrow an equally distinguished Mussalman to receive the same attention if the Government desires it for its own end. Nobody is deceived by the declaration that the Government sincerely wants peace between the communities. I venture to suggest that a real desire for peace between Hindus and Mussalmans is wholly inconsistent with the desire to retain British rule in India by force of arms. When British officials begin the work of peace between these two branches of the Indian family, they will have begun to live in India on sufferance. After all, the discovery that India is governed by the 'divide and rule' policy was made, in the first instance, not by an Indian but, if I am not mistaken, by an Englishman. It was either the late Allen Octavius Hume or George Yule who taught us to believe that the Empire was based upon a policy of divide and rule. Nor need we be surprised at or resent it. Imperial Rome did no otherwise. British did no otherwise with the Boers. By a system of favouritism it sought to divide the Boer ranks. The Government of India is based upon distrust. Distrust involves favouritism and favouritism must breed division. There are frank Englishmen enough who have owned this fact. No serious student of Indian history can help rejecting the recent declarations about peace on the part of the Viceroy or the Governors. I am prepared to believe that His Excellency the Viceroy is sincere in his declaration. It is not necessary for one to impute dishonesty to the high officials, if one is to ascribe the policy of 'divide and rule' to the Government. The division policy need not be always conscious and deliberate. Mussalmans against Hindus, non-Brahmins against Brahmins, Sikhs against both, Gurkhas against all the three, this game of permutation and combination has gone on ever since the advent of British rule, and will continue so long as the Government considers its interests to be antagonistic to those of the people or its existence to be against the desire of the people. Hence it is that swaraj is a vital necessity for national growth. Hence it is that Mrs. Besant has stated not without much force that Hindu-Muslim unity is almost an impossibility without swaraj. And unfortunately we are having it demonstrated to us daily that swaraj is an equal impossibility without Hindu-Muslim unity. I

am however optimistic enough to believe that the unity will come in spite of ourselves because, I implicitly believe in Lokamanya's motto "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it." Where man's effort may fail, God's will succeed, and His Government is not based upon 'divide and rule' policy.

Young India, 12-8-1926

313. A PIONEER IN NATIONAL EDUCATION

Professor Bijapurkar whose death was announced last week was one of the pioneers of national education. He may be said to have given his whole life to national education. He suffered much for it. He was the soul of the institution at Talegaon. He laboured to give the students text books in Marathi. He abhorred cant, humbug and untruth. He was, like all Maharashtra workers, an embodiment of simplicity. He was adored by his pupils whom he loved as a father loves his children. I tender my condolences to the members of the deceased's family and to those devoted followers whom he has left behind him.

Young India, 12-8-1926

314. HAS NON-VIOLENCE LIMITS?

The following is an extract from a detailed letter[1] from a correspondent who gives his full name and address:

> You may know what is happening to Congress workers in Madras. During the last two days, the Justice Party men have excelled themselves in their abominations. Mr. . . . accompanied by Mr. . . . was convassing votes for Mr. . . . the Congress candidate. A group of Justice men who kept following Mr. . . . and others when they came near the Justice candidate's house suddenly surrounded the Congress workers and spat upon . . . and . . .'s faces. . . . The object of addressing you these few words is to ask you to enunciate your theory of non-violence with reference to what a Congressman should do under circumstances of such grave indignity and insult. . . . The provocation is increasing every day, and it may not be possible for Congress workers to restrain the youthful followers from taking the law into their own hands. Therefore, may I ask you to state if private defence is compatible with non-violence and with

[1] Only excerpts from the passage quoted are reproduced here.

> what qualifications it should be exercised? . . . One reason why I request you to publish your opinion as early as you possibly can is that we are told that the Justice Party is experimenting with hooligan tactics to see if it succeeds, so that they might systematize it into a regular art of political warfare against the Congress in the coming Council and Assembly elections in November.

I have purposely erased names of men and places; for, their discovery is not required for my purpose. Time for expedient non-violence passed away long ago. Those who cannot be non-violent at heart are under no obligation to be non-violent under the circumstances mentioned by the correspondent. Though non-violence is the creed of the Congress, nobody now refers to the creed for being or remaining non-violent. Every Congressman who is non-violent is so because he cannot be otherwise. My advice therefore emphatically is that no one need refer to me or any other Congressmen for advice in the matter of non-violence. Everyone must act on his own responsibility, and interpret the Congress creed to the best of his ability and belief. I have often noticed that weak people have taken shelter under the Congress creed or under my advice, when they have simply by reason of their cowardice been unable to defend their own honour or that of those who were entrusted to their care. I recall the incident that happened near Bettiah when non-co-operation was at its height. Some villagers were looted. They had fled leaving their wives, children and belongings to the mercy of the looters. When I rebuked them for their cowardice in thus neglecting their charge, they shamelessly pleaded non-violence. I publicly denounced their conduct and said that my non-violence fully accommodated violence offered by those who did not feel non-violence and who had in their keeping the honour of their womenfolk and little children. Non-violence is not a cover for cowardice, but it is the supreme virtue of the brave. Exercise of non-violence requires far greater bravery than that of swordsmanship. Cowardice is wholly inconsistent with non-violence. Translation from swordsmanship to non-violence is possible and at times even an easy stage. Non-violence, therefore, presupposes ability to strike. It is a conscious deliberate restraint put upon one's desire for vengeance. But vengeance is any day superior to passive, effeminate and helpless submission. Forgiveness is higher still. Vengeance too is weakness. The desire for vengeance comes out of fear of harm, imaginary or real. A dog barks and bites when he fears. A man who fears no one on earth would consider it too troublesome even to summon up anger against one who is vainly trying

to injure him. The sun does not wreak vengeance upon little children who throw dust at him. They only harm themselves in the act.

I do not know whether the statements made by the correspondent about the misdeeds of the Justice Party men are true. Perhaps, there is another side to the story. But, assuming the truth of the statements, I can only congratulate those who were spat upon, or assaulted or had night-soil thrown upon them. No injury has happened to them if they had the courage to suffer the insult without even mental retaliation. But, it was wholly wrong on their part to suffer it, if they felt irritated, but refrained out of expedience from retaliating. A sense of self-respect disdains all expedience. But I wonder what kind of punishment could be meted out by distinguished Congressmen who, as the correspondent states, were too numerous for the few hooligans of the Justice Party. Were they to return night-soil with night-soil, spitting with spitting, and abuse with abuse? Or, would the self-respect of this numerous party be better consulted by ignoring the few hooligans? When non-co-operation was the fashion, I know what was done to hooligans who tried to disturb meetings. They were held down by volunteers who caused them no hurt, but, if they continued to howl, their howling was ignored. I know that even in those days, in several cases the law of non-violence was broken and any man who dared to disturb the meetings or put in a word of opposition was howled down by the violent majority or, some times, even roughly handled to the discredit of the majority and the movement which they so thoughtlessly betrayed and misrepresented. I suggest also to this Congressman and to those whom he may represent that, if the object is to win over the Justice Party or any other party to the Congress, then, they should be treated gently even though they may act harshly. If it is to suppress all opponents, then, double retaliation or Dyerism is the chosen remedy. Whether that can bring us any nearer swaraj is, of course, another question.

But all my advice is useless where conviction is wanting. Let every Congressman, therefore, weigh all the pros and cons, then make his definite choice and act accordingly, irrespective of consequences. He will then have acted truly even though it may be mistakenly. A thousand mistakes unconsciously made are better than the most scrupulously correct conduct without conviction behind to back it. It is like a whited sepulchre. Above all, we must be true to ourselves if we will be true to the country and lead it to its chosen goal. Let there be no cant about non-violence.

It is not like a garment to be put on and off at will. Its seat is in the heart and it must be an inseparable part of our very being.

Young India, 12-8-1926

315. LETTER TO R. A. ADAMS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter[1] of the 6th August. I have now enquired. It is not possible to certify that the students of the National College cannot afford to buy. But I sent a messenger yesterday to find out how many students would care to buy copies at reduced charges. I got 40 applications. If you will kindly tell me what it would cost the students to get the copies, I would be able to tell you whether they will have them at the price or not. I am inclined to think that it would be better for them to possess the whole of the Bible and not merely the New Testament. I think you have in stock a cheap edition of the whole Bible. Of course, it is the English text that they would want.

Yours sincerely,

R. A. ADAMS, ESQ.
SECRETARY
BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY
170, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 10980

[1] R. A. Adams had referred in this to having received a request from a student of the National College for a free copy of the New Testament, and enclosed his reply (S.N. 10977) to him. He had added that if a list of other students desiring to have complimentary copies were sent to him, he would be glad to send them too (S.N. 10976).

316. LETTER TO A. T. GIDWANI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 12, 1926

MY DEAR GIDWANI,

Bharat, the spinning teacher, went to you yesterday. I hope he has reached you safely.[1] Bharat is the name he has assumed for the qualities of Bharat of Tulsidas's *Ramayana* which qualities he wants to cultivate for himself. I hope you will find him quite competent and industrious. He has been complaining about some defect in his eyesight. He was examined by a doctor before he was sent to you and the doctor said that there was nothing wrong with his eyes but, in case he complains about anything in his eyes, you would know what to do. Bharat will give you a *takli*. A spindle was sent some time ago. Let your people make a third attempt and make the thing we want.

You do not want me to deal with the difficulty about the prayer that Roy has raised.

No teacher is available at the present moment such as is required by the people of Stanger. I return that letter lest you might want it.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 11272

317. LETTER TO MRS. A. SEN AND MISS P. BOSE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 12, 1926

DEAR SISTERS,

I am thankful for your letter[2]. Beyond knowing the general trend of the tragic events in Pabna and elsewhere, I know nothing.[3] I do not read newspaper reports because I distrust them. I would,

[1] *Vide* "Letter to A. T. Gidwani", 6-8-1926.

[2] This was dated August 4, 1926. It furnished the correspondents' address as suggested by Gandhiji; *vide* "Notes", 29-7-1926, sub-title, "To 'Some Bengali Ladies' ".

[3] The correspondents had referred to outrages against Hindu women by Muslim rowdies in Bengal villages and recalled a remark, which they said, was

therefore, feel grateful to you if you could send me authentic information that may be in your possession.

The question you want me to answer in the pages of *Young India* is rather delicate.[1] I am not sure that I shall serve the cause you and I have at heart by a public discussion of a delicate question. The information I have gathered from trustworthy friends goes to show that wherever violence has occurred, it was due to the cowardice of men rather than the inability of the women to protect their honour by physical resistance. I question the advisability of the formation of an association such as you suggest, not because it is sinful for a woman to use the dagger or the pistol when she knows not any other method, but because in the vast majority of cases such self-defence proves worse than useless and because it will take generations before our women take to the dagger or the pistol in any appreciable number. Perhaps, the quicker method is for women to shame men into performing their primary duty of protecting their womenfolk at all costs. But, before any step can be taken, you must have incontrovertible facts before you. Is the disease general? How many cases of real violence have happened, say, during the past six months? Was it impossible in every case for men to protect the victims? What is the precise method adopted by the miscreants to secure their victims? I hope you would not take a single step without knowing the full facts, and without reasonable hope of securing acceptance of the methods that you may suggest for meeting the evil.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. A. SEN
MISS P. BOSE
C/O RAJ KUMAR SEN
DINANATH SEN'S LANE
GANDARIA
P. O. FARIDABAD
DACCA

From a photostat: S.N. 12378

once made by Ramananda Chatterji, editor of *Modern Review*, in his Bengali journal, *Prabasi*, that he wondered why Gandhiji said nothing about the persecuted women of Bengal, though he had stayed and travelled through Bengal for a long time (S.N. 12378).

[1] The question was: "What should women do when such events were going to take place and whether they should not take to physical exercise from the very childhood and be taught to defend themselves against such villains."

318. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Thursday, Sravana Shuklapaksha 4, August 12, 1926

BHAI NAJUKLAL,

You must have now returned to Bombay. Velanbehn is yearning to see Moti. If possible, please send her for a few days. If, however, that is not possible, please do not at all hesitate to say so.

I hope you are in good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12134

319. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Thursday, Sravana Shukla 4, August [*12*,][1] *1926*

CHI. MOTI,

Velanbehn is yearning to see you. If, therefore, you can come, that is, if you can easily get permission to do so, you should come. It will still be a few days before Lakshmidas comes here. I hope you are all right now. How can I now expect a letter from you?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12135

320. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

SABARMATI,
August 12, 1926

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I send with this a letter from Maneklal. If you think that Ramdas should go, as suggested in it, please write to him and

[1] The source has 13, but *Sravana Shukla* 4 fell on Thursday, August 12.

tell him so. I have written to him and asked him to follow your instructions. You may now do what you think best.

BAPU

FULCHAND KASTURCHAND SHAH
WADHWAN

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12247

321. LETTER TO GOKULBHAI D. BHATT

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,

Thursday, Sravana Sud 4, August 12, 1926

BHAISHRI GOKULBHAI,

I have your letter. I read two or three times the paragraph referred to by you. I do not understand why the friend declines to pay you any contribution. Which remark of mine has he interpreted to mean that your school should be closed? Is it true of your school that parents and teachers are inspired by the national spirit but the pupils are indifferent? I don't think it is. Does it happen anywhere that parents and teachers want their children and pupils always to wear khadi but the latter refuse to do so? Do not the pupils in your school wear khadi? If I have understood you correctly, a large majority of them do. How, then, can the paragraph in question apply to you? If the pupils do not in fact wear khadi, then it may be said that your school does not belong to the type I have supposed. In that case, too, it should be continued, according to that paragraph. Is this not quite clear? You can make any use you like of this letter. Do you still think that it is necessary for me to write on this subject? If you think it is, kindly explain to me why.

BAPU

SHRI GOKULBHAI DOLATRAM BHATT
BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12248

322. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Thursday, Sravana Sud 4, August 12, 1926

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your letter. I acted upon your telegram as soon as I could. You must have got the spinning-wheel by now. I forgot to give instructions about slivers, and they may not have been packed. There can be no comparison between Mrs. Besant and the Maharani[1]. I have done no injustice to the latter. Mrs. Besant is a public figure and, if she bought a spinning-wheel, she would do so because she understood its value. On the other hand the Maharani, even if she took up spinning, would do so as an amusement. Impartiality does not rule out discrimination. I have explained only one reason. You yourself have given a second reason in your letter, in your description of the Maharaja. I know much about him. His life is none too pure, and he has an extremely unsteady mind. He is not at all dependable. He hopes to get something done through me, and I am not in a position to satisfy his hope. I smell this hope even in his readiness to start spinning. I have, therefore, cautioned you and left it to you to decide what is best for you to do, so that you may not do the slightest injustice to the Maharaja.

I understand your reason for wishing to stay on there. Stay on by all means, and come here only when you are quite strong again. You may go to Simla any time you wish to, but, whether you are in Simla or Mussoorie, you should always carry on public work. Only in this way will you succeed in promoting the sale of khadi. And see that you attend to everything yourself. I have suggested to Chhaganlal[2] that he should reserve for you the khadi which in your letter you have asked him to send to you. In view of what I have written to you in this letter, to which place do you now want the khadi to be despatched?

Pyarelal has written to Mahadev what he wrote to you.

[1] The queen of the then princely State of Nabha in the Punjab
[2] Chhaganlal Gandhi

Arrangements will now be made to send the money from here. Harilal is still here. Balibehn[1] comes occasionally.

BAPU

CHI. DEVDAS GANDHI
THE OAKS
MUSSOORIE

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12243

323. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

Sravana Shukla 4 [August 12, 1926][2]

BHAISHRI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. Well do I know that no one except Malaviyaji and Shraddhanandji can bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. I wish to be no more than an advisor and help, if I can, to settle small points of dispute. My work is a Bhangi's, to clean and try to keep clean things. When the time for a settlement comes, the approval of Malaviyaji and others will certainly be essential.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6131. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

324. LETTER TO ANANT MEHTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 13, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the crossed Postal Order payable at Ahmedabad for 20 shillings for the inauguration of a fund for starting satyagraha in accordance with the suggestions made by you. I may deal with your letter in some shape or form in the pages of *Young India*. But let me tell you here that your letter is written in ignorance of the situation as it exists here at the

[1] Harilal's sister-in-law

[2] Reference in the letter to Gandhiji's desire to play the role of just an adviser in regard to the Hindu-Muslim tension suggests that the letter was written in 1926.

present moment. Your Postal Order as it was made payable in Ahmedabad, I have been obliged to cash, but, as I am unable to start satyagraha at the present moment and as I am unable to start the fund suggested by you, will you kindly tell me what you would have me do with the proceeds of the Postal Order?

Yours sincerely,

ANANT MEHTA, ESQ.
BRITISH INDIAN UNION
10, GROSVENOR GARDENS
LONDON S.W.

From a photostat: S.N. 10799

325. *LETTER TO JANAKDHARI PRASAD*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 13, 1926

DEAR JANAKDHARI BABU,

I have your letter. I have somewhat studied the question now being expounded by Dr. Besant.[1] I have not been able to enthuse about it. Everyone has to earn his own salvation. I did come in touch with the gentleman at Pabna.[2] He created little impression on me and, after Deshbandhu's death, so far as I am aware, he has not carried out the promise made to Deshbandhu.

In a place like yours where you are living as one family,[3] it is impossible to separate the Mussalman teacher from the Hindus and ask him to dine apart from us.

I hope you are keeping excellent health.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. JANAKDHARI PRASAD
GANDHI VIDYALAYA
P.O. HAJIPUR
DT. MUZAFFARPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 11223

[1] Writing on August 1, Janakdhari Prasad had referred, *inter alia,* to a statement by Dr. Annie Besant regarding the reappearance of Jesus Christ, and asked Gandhiji to study the question and give his personal views (S.N. 11215).

[2] C. R. Das had referred Gandhiji to a 'guru' at Pabna.

[3] The reference was to teachers of different communities working in the Vidyalaya at Hajipur.

326. LETTER TO PROFULLA CHANDRA SEN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 13, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter which I like very much. Whilst I can entirely approve of your method of work, I can equally well endorse the methods adopted by the Khadi Pratishthan and the Abhoy Ashram. Each has its place. Khadi Pratishthan work is surely not exploitation. Exploitation of whom by whom? Not of the women who are able, because of the Pratishthan having created a market, to sell their yarn in ever-increasing quantity and not by Khadi Pratishthan, for, it makes no profits for shareholders or directors. On the contrary, several of its members are giving of their very best to the Khadi Pratishthan and, this work as surely makes for swaraj as yours, if only because vast production and sale of khadi makes boycott of foreign cloth possible within a measurable distance of time. It is wrong to suggest that the Khadi Pratishthan workers do not come in touch with the spinners. It would be right if you said that they do not come in as close touch as you do. But, that merely means that you are working for depth, Khadi Pratishthan is working for extent. Both the activities are necessary and complimentary one of the other.

Abhoy Ashram stands midway between the two and thus all these three efforts if they could be joined, co-ordinated and regularized, the work will be much better. All therefore I advise you to do is not to abandon your admirable programme, but on the strength of that programme to secure the assistance and approval of the Bengal Agent of the All-India Spinners' Association. You need not be merged in either of these institutions, if you do not wish.

Yours sincerely,

BABU PROFULLA CHANDRA SEN
DUADONDA KHADI KENDRA
P.O. MOYAL BANDIPUR
DT. HOOGHLY

From a microfilm: S.N. 11224

327. LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 13, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I return the two original letters from Rev. Kitchen and enclose herewith a copy of my reply[1] to Profulla's letter.

With reference to the Rs. 500, I ask you to see Satis Babu, explain the position to him and get him to endorse your application which you should make to the All-India Spinners' Association. There would then be no difficulty in getting the application granted.[2]

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN
23, MANDARAM SEN STREET
HATKOLA P.O.
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 11225

328. LETTER TO SIR GANGA RAM

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 14, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

You will see the use I have made of your pamphlet of statistics regarding widows.[3] A correspondent has asked me to enquire whether your statistics are confined only to widows among classes

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] Sen replied on August 17 forwarding his application and requesting that the money be sent to him directly (S.N. 11227).

[3] *Vide* "Enforced Widowhood", 5-8-1926.

in which re-marriage is prohibited. It is a good point to be cleared.

Yours sincerely,

SIR GANGA RAM, KT., C.I.E., M.V.O.
ARMADALE COTTAGE
SIMLA E.

From a photostat: S.N. 10982

329. LETTER TO DR. MURARILAL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 17, 1926

DEAR DR. MURARILAL,

I am still without an acknowledgment of my letter regarding the money owing by the Exhibition Committee to the Rashtriya Stree Sabha in Bombay. I have now another complaint from Mr. Kotak that monies are owing to him and he says he does not even get acknowledgment of registered letters. What is this neglect due to? Is there no one winding up the affairs of the Congress and attend[ing] to the absolutely necessary correspondence? Do please steal in a few moments to attend to these little details.

Yours sincerely,

DR. MURARILAL
CAWNPORE

From a copy: S.N. 11226

330. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 17, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter.[1] I do not think Mr. Mavalankar says it is better not to have this security, if the shares can be transferred. In any event nothing more is necessary to be done beyond transferring the shares if that is possible. If for any

[1] This was evidently in reply to Gandhiji's letter of August 6.

reason you think that it is not possible, your other suggestion may be adopted.

Do what you like with Sodepur and Hemaprabhadevi's money. I have only the inflexible condition, that the giving on the part of Hemaprabhadevi must be an irresistible thing.

There is something wrong as long as you feel worried. She cannot be cheerful and happy if you are not. I would, therefore, plead with you to go slowly. Do not force matters. Let there be complete assimilation before taking in a fresh dose.

Yes, indeed, I have read Tolstoy's "How Much Land a Man Needs" many times over. Years ago I translated it in *Indian Opinion* and it was published in pamphlet form. If Tolstoy had known much of cremation, he would even have allowed much less space and, if the body were to receive scientific treatment of reduction, it would be resolved into the five elements and then no space at all would be required. And that is precisely what our mental state should be. In practice we will always fall short of the theory. But any little possession we may keep would then be irksome. We would recognize it as our limitation and not as our right. And, therefore, if suddenly we are deprived of it, we should feel as if so much burden was taken off our shoulders and so finally we should feel even when the body of ours is taken away. Beyond all your sacrifices, therefore, I want perfect equanimity and cheerfulness. The greater the detachment with which you organize khadi work the more prosperous it will be.

Are you coming for the 27th? If you want to be released from the Utkal responsibility, I shall certainly release you. I am anxious to ease your burden as much as is possible.

Herewith a letter from Calcutta with a copy of my reply.[1] You will please let me know what is it all about.

Yours,

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 11228

[1] The reference is probably to "Letter to Bhupendra Narayan Sen", 13-8-1926.

331. LETTER TO R. A. ADAMS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 18, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 13th instant.[1] Will you kindly send the copies as follows:

Reduced Price Rs. 1-8-0 each		3 copies
„ Price Re. 1-0-0 each		23 „
„ Price Re. 0-8-0 each		3 „

In all 33 copies are required instead of 40. The four copies you have already sent on approval will, therefore, make 33.

I enclose herewith cheque for Rs. 32-12-0 upon. . . .[2] I have assumed that you have quoted prices inclusive of postage. But if I am mistaken, you will let me know the postage to be sent.

I suggest your sending seven more one-rupee copies on credit to be returned if they are not wanted.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 10983

332. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Sravana Sud 10, August 18, 1926

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. I gather from the papers that many Hindus suffered losses in the serious riots between Hindus and Muslims which occurred in Pabna. Mrs. Naidu[3] wants to have the money which is lying with you and to use it to help these people. My own view is that the fund is for the purpose of providing relief to victims of floods and other calamities. Pabna's

[1] Adams had sent some specimens of different editions of the Bible and a price list and offered to send free copies to students too poor to buy them (S.N. 10981).

[2] The blank space in the source is evidently for the name of the bank.

[3] Sarojini Naidu

case being of a different character, a separate collection should be made for it. However, the fund can certainly be used for any other purpose after consulting the donors.

I hope the heavy rains are not affecting your health. This year the rains are very good in every part.

SHRI MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
HOMI VILLA
PANCHGANI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 11250

333. LETTER TO ABBAS A. BANPARI

THE ASHRAM,
August 18, 1926

BHAISHRI ABBAS ABDULLABHAI,

The term "ghee" is used to denote the article made from the milk of only cows and buffaloes. The oil obtained from other sources cannot be described as ghee. This was all that I meant. The material from those other sources is known as *tel*, and I would see no harm in people using it in the full knowledge that its properties are different from those of ghee. In any case, its use cannot be opposed on religious grounds. Personally, I do not regard contact with a woman in menses as forbidden, nor regard it as objectionable to eat food cooked by her, but the attitude of those who do regard these things as wrong can be justified on hygienic grounds. It is difficult to say how far the religious point of view can help us in this matter, for the various religions hold different beliefs about it.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI ABBAS ABDULLABHAI BANPARI
SHAHADA, KHANDESH

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19944

334. *LETTER TO BHAGIRATH KANODIA*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Sravana Shukla 10, August 18, 1926

BHAI BHAGIRATHJI,

I enclose a receipt for the amount of Rs. 5,000 which you sent at the request of Jamnalalji. I thank you for the sum.

SHRI BHAGIRATHJI KANODIA
C/o BIRLA BROTHERS, LTD.
137, CANNING STREET
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 12249

335. *LETTER TO NARAYANDAS BAJORIA*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Sravana Shukla 10, August 18, 1926

BHAISHRI NARAYANDASJI,

I thank you for the draft for Rs. 5,000 which you sent at the request of Jamnalalji. The money will be spent in meeting the expenses on a building for the Ashram.

SHRI NARAYANDASJI BAJORIA
117, HARRISON ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12251

336. 'TOWARDS MORAL BANKRUPTCY'-VIII

It is now time to conclude this series of articles. It is not necessary to pursue M. Bureau in his examination of the doctrine of Malthus who startled his generation by his theory of over-population and his advocacy of birth-control if the human species was not to be extinct. Malthus, however, advocated continence, whereas Neo-Malthusianism advocates not restraint but the use of chemical and mechanical means to avoid the consequences of animal indulgence. M. Bureau heartily accepts the doctrine of birth-control by moral means, i.e., self-restraint, and, as we have seen, rejects and vigorously condemns the use of chemical or mechanical means. The author then examines the condition of working classes and the proportion of birth among them and finally closes the book by examining the means of checking the practice of grossest immoralities under the name of individual freedom and even humanity. He suggests organized attempt to guide and regulate the public opinion and advocates State interference, but finally relies upon quickening of the religious life. Moral bankruptcy cannot be met or arrested by ordinary methods, most certainly not when immorality is claimed as a virtue and morality condemned as a weakness, superstition or even immorality. For many advocates of contraceptives do indeed condemn continence as unnecessary and even harmful. In this state of things religious aid is the only effective check upon licensed vice. Religion here may not be taken in its narrow, parochial sense. True religion is the greatest disturbing factor in life, whether individual or collective. A religious awakening constitutes a revolution, a transformation, a regeneration. And nothing but some such dynamic force can positively prevent the moral catastrophe towards which, in M. Bureau's estimation, France seems to be moving.

But we must here leave the author and his book. French conditions are not Indian conditions. Ours is a somewhat different problem. Contraceptives are not universal in India. Their use has hardly touched the educated classes. The use of contraceptives in India is, in my opinion, unwarranted by any single condition that can be named. Do middle-class parents suffer from too many children? Individual instances will not suffice to make out a case for excessive birth-rate among the middle classes.

The cases in India where I have observed the advocacy of these methods are those of widows and young wives. Thus in the one case it is illegitimate birth that is to be avoided, not the secret intercourse. In the other, it is again pregnancy that is to be feared, and not the rape, of a girl of tender age. Then there remains the class of diseased weak effeminate young men who would indulge in excesses with their own wives or others' wives and would avoid the consequences of acts which they know to be sinful. The cases of men or women in full vigour of life desiring intercourse and yet wishing to avoid the burden of children are, I make bold to say, rare in this ocean of Indian humanity. Let them not parade their cases to justify and advocate a practice that in India, if it became general, is bound to ruin the youth of the country. A highly artificial education has robbed the nation's youth of physical and mental vigour. We are offspring in many cases of child-marriages. Our disregard of the laws of health and sanitation has undermined our bodies. Our wrong and deficient dietary composed of corroding spices has produced a collapse of the digestive apparatus. We need, not lessons in the use of contraceptives and helps to our being able to satisfy our animal appetite, but continuous lessons to restrain that appetite, in many cases even to the extent of absolute continence. We need to be taught by precept and example that continence is perfectly possible and imperatively necessary if we are not to remain mentally and physically weak. We need to be told from the housetop that if we will not be a nation of manikins, we must conserve and add to the limited vital energy we are daily dissipating. Our young widows need to be told not to sin secretly but come out boldly and openly to demand marriage which is their right as much as that of young widowers. We need to cultivate public opinion that shall make child-marriages impossible. The vacillation, and the disinclination to do hard and sustained work, the physical inability to perform strenuous labours, collapses of enterprises brilliantly begun, the want of originality, one notices so often, are due largely to excessive indulgence. I hope young men do not deceive themselves into the belief that, when there is no procreation, the mere indulgence does not matter, does not weaken. Indeed the sexual act, with the unnatural safeguard against procreation, is likely to be far more exhausting than such act performed with a full sense of the responsibility attached to it.

> The mind is its own place, and in itself
> Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.

If we begin to believe that indulgence in animal passion is necessary, harmless and sinless, we shall want to give reins to it and shall be powerless to resist it. Whereas, if we educate ourselves to believe that such indulgence is harmful, sinful, unnecessary and can be controlled, we shall discover that self-restraint is perfectly possible. Let us beware of the strong wine of libertinism that the intoxicated West sends us under the guise of new truth and so-called human freedom. Let us, on the contrary, listen to the sober voice from the West, that through the rich experience of its wise men at times percolates to us, i.e., if we have outgrown the ancient wisdom of our forefathers.

Charlie Andrews has sent me an informing article on "Generation and Regeneration" written by William Loftus Hare and printed in *The Open Court* (March 1926). It is a closely-reasoned scientific essay. He shows that all bodies perform two functions: 'namely, internal reproduction for the building up of the body and external reproduction for the continuance of the species.' These processes he names regeneration and generation, respectively.

> The regenerative process—internal reproduction—is fundamental for the individual and, therefore, necessary and primary; the generative process is due to a superfluity of cells and is therefore secondary . . . . The law of life, then, at this level is to feed the germ cells, firstly, for regeneration, and, secondly, for generation. In case of deficiency, regeneration must take the first place and generation be suspended. Thus, we may learn the origin of the suspension of reproduction and follow it to its later phases of human continence and asceticism generally. Inner reproduction can never be suspended except at the cost of death, the normal origin of which is thus also discerned.

After describing the biological process of regeneration the writer states:

> Among civilized human beings sexual intercourse is practised vastly more than is necessary for the production of the next generation and is carried on at the expense of internal reproduction, bringing disease, death and more in its train.

No one who knows anything of Hindu philosophy can have difficulty in following this paragraph from Mr. Hare's essay:

> The process of regeneration is not and cannot be mechanistic in character, but like the primitive fission, is vitalistic. That is to say, it exhibits intelligence and will. To suppose that life separates, differentiates and segregates by a process that is purely mechanistic is inconceivable. True, these fundamental processes are so far removed from our present

consciousness as to seem to be uncontrolled by the human or animal will. But a moment's reflection will show that just as the will of the fully developed human being directs his external movements and actions in accordance with the guidance of the intellect—this, indeed, being its function—so the earlier processes of the gradual organization of the body must, within the limits provided by environment be allowed to be directed by a kind of will guided by a kind of intelligence. This is now known to psychologists as "the unconscious". It is a part of ourself, disconnected from our normal daily thinking, but intensely awake and alert in ard to its own functions—so much so that it never for a moment subsides into sleep as the consciousness does.

Who can measure the almost irreparable harm done to the unconscious and more pe.manent part of our being by the sexual act indulged for its own sake?

> The nemesis of reproduction is death. The sexual act is essentially katabolic (or a movement towards death) in the male and in parturition of the offspring it is katabolic for the female.

Hence the writer contends:

> Virility, vitality and immunity from disease are the normal lot of nearly or quite continent persons. Withdrawal of germ cells from their upward regenerative course for generative or merely indulgent purposes deprives the organs of their replenishing stock of life, to their cost slowly and ultimately. It is these physical facts which constitute the basis of a personal sexual ethic, counselling moderation, if not restraint—at any rate, explaining the origin of restraint.

The author, as can be easily imagined, is opposed to birth-control by chemical and mechanical means. He says:

> It removes all prudential motives for self-restraint and makes it possible for sexual indulgence in marriage to be limited only by the diminution of desire or the advance of old age. Apart from this, however, it inevitably has an influence outside the marriage relation. It opens the door for irregular, promiscuous and unfruitful unions, which from the point of view of modern industry, sociology and politics, are full of danger. I cannot go into these here. It is sufficient to say that by contraception, inordinate sexual indulgence both in and out of marriage is facilitated and, if I am right in my foregoing physiological arguments, evil must come to both individuals and the race.

Let the Indian youth treasure in their hearts the quotation with which M. Bureau's book ends:

> The future is for the nations who are chaste.

Young India, 19-8-1926

337. CORRECTION

Professor Malkani draws my attention to two 'sad misprints' in his last article last week. In the third paragraph of the second column 'quickly' should have been 'quietly' and 'clever' should have been 'clear'.[1]

Young India, 19-8-1926

338. SUPPRESSED HUMANITY

The untouchable is not the only portion of suppressed humanity. The young widow in Hindu society is no less so. A correspondent from Bengal writes:

> There is no restriction among Muslims about widow remarriage, but there is provision for a man to marry up to four wives and as a matter of fact many Muslims have more than one wife. So none of the Muslim male population remains unmarried. Is it not therefore true that where there is no restriction against widow remarriage the number of females is much in excess of males? In other words is it not true that in the communities in which widow remarriage is allowed, polygamy should also be allowed?
>
> If widow remarriage is made common among Hindus, will not young widows induce young men to marry them and make it difficult, rather impossible, to find out bridegrooms for unmarried girls?
>
> Will not unmarried girls then commit all the sins which are committed or are presumed to be committed by widows, if there be no provision to keep more than one wife by a Hindu?
>
> I refrain from reminding you of the love (*prem*), the saintly *grahastha*[2] life, the *pativrata* dharma[3] and such other things which should be taken into consideration in recommending widow remarriage.

In his zeal to prevent widows from remarrying, the correspondent has ignored many things. Mussalmans have, indeed, the right to take more than one wife but the vast majority of them have only one wife. The correspondent does not seem to know

[1] The reference is to N. R. Malkani's article "The Agricultural Condition of Bardoli Taluka," published in *Young India*, 12-8-1926.

[2] Household

[3] Loyalty to one's husband

that, unfortunately, there is no prohibition against polygamy in Hinduism. Hindus in highest circles have been known to marry more than one wife. Many princes marry an unlimited number. The correspondent further forgets the fact that it is only among the so-called higher classes that widow remarriage is prohibited. Among the vast majority belonging to the fourth division, widows freely remarry, but no untoward consequences have taken place. Though free to take more wives than one, they are as a rule satisfied with one companion at a time.

The suggestion that young widows will take up all young men and leave none for unmarried girls betrays a woeful want of sense of proportion. The excessive anxiety for the chastity of young girls betrays an unhealthy mind. The limited number of widows remarrying can never leave a large number of young girls unmarried. And in any event, if ever such a problem arose it would be found to be due to the early marriages that take place today. The remedy in anticipation is to prevent early marriages.

Of the love, the sanctity of *grahastha* life, etc., where there is a widow of tender age, the less said the better.

But the correspondent has missed the whole of my point. I have never advocated widow remarriage on a wholesale scale. The statistics collected by Sir Ganga Ram and summarized in these pages deal with widows up to 15 years only. These poor, wretched beings know nothing of *pativrata* dharma. They are strangers to love. The truer statement would be to say that these girls were never married at all. If marriage is, as it ought to be, a sacrament, an entrance into a new life, the girls to be married should be fully developed, should have some hand in the choice of companions for life, and should know the consequences of their acts. It is a crime against God and man to call the union of the children a married state and then to decree widowhood for a girl whose so-called husband is dead.

I do believe that a real Hindu widow is a treasure. She is one of the gifts of Hinduism to humanity. Ramabai Ranade was such a gift. But the existence of girl widows is a blot upon Hinduism for which the existence of a Ramabai is no atonement.

Young India, 19-8-1926

339. NOTES

The Wheel in Municipal Schools

There are 108 girls and 41 boys spinning in the schools under the Lucknow Municipal Board. There are 93 wheels in the girls' schools and 15 in the boys' schools. The former spin 27 *tolas* and the latter 4 *tolas* per month. Each wheel costs the municipality Rs. 2 per month. The Superintendent of Education considers the progress 'quite satisfactory beginning to start with, though not very encouraging'. It can be considered satisfactory only in the sense that it may be better than nothing. But in my opinion the output of yarn is ridiculously small and the expense per charkha is monstrously large. Indeed there should be hardly any, apart from the initial outlay. Nothing is stated as to the quality of yarn. I must repeat what I have said before. The *takli* is *the* thing for schools and it should be only introduced when the existing staff has learnt carding and spinning. Spinning in schools can never become a success unless the teachers realize its national importance, take pleasure in it, and by their own zeal make it interesting for the pupils.

Bihar Khadi Exhibition

The khadi exhibitions in Bihar continue to prosper and attract increasing attention. The month of July began with an exhibition at Bettiah. It was opened by Mr. Prior, the manager of the Raj. The assistant manager Mr. Wylde and the S.D.O. were present at the opening ceremony. Mr. Prior did not think that "any Englishman ever considered khaddar as a poor thing", but he said, "it should be carried on as a home industry". The sales effected were Rs. 1,304-12-3. The second exhibition was held at Motihari. The Rev. J. Z. Hodge performed the opening ceremony. He had three reasons for supporting the khaddar movement: First, "Support home industry"; second, khaddar had sentiment and love behind it; third, khaddar gave food to the poor. The sales in Motihari amounted to Rs. 1,162-8-9. The third exhibition was held at Laheria Serai, Darbhanga. Babu Rajendra Prasad performed the opening ceremony. The sales amounted to Rs. 1,445-15-6. The fourth and the last exhibition of the month was at Debghar. Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj opened the exhibition. The sales came to Rs. 1,359-3-6.

Young India, 19-8-1926

340. TO READERS OF "NAVAJIVAN"

Today *Hindi Navajivan* enters its eighth year. Although it is running at a loss, it is being continued by the love of friends. I have read what Jamnalalji has written. If *Hindi Navajivan* serves a purpose, it must go on; but it must then be self-supporting. I appeal to the readers to make sure that the paper does not have to depend on the charity of friends.

There used to be errors of language in *Hindi Navajivan*. I think they have now been done away with. Two Hindi lovers from North India do the translation for *Hindi Navajivan*. The risk of errors has, therefore, considerably lessened. The readers on their part will no doubt fulfil their duty during this year.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 19-8-1926

341. LETTER TO PUNJABHAI

THE ASHRAM,
Thursday, August 19, 1926

BHAISHRI PUNJABHAI,

I have gone through the translation of *Manache Shloka*[1] fairly carefully. I felt that it contained quite a few errors. It was beyond my capacity to examine it very closely. Besides, my knowledge of Marathi is not much. I would, therefore, advise you to get it thoroughly revised by a scholar who knows both Marathi and Gujarati.

SJT. PUNJABHAI
ASHRAM

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12253

[1] A didactic long verse by the seventeenth-century Maharashtra saint Ramdas

342. *LETTER TO RUSTOMJEE WACHHA GANDHI*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Thursday, Sravana Sud 11, August 19, 1926

BHAISHRI RUSTOMJEE WACHHA GANDHI,

I received both your letters. Your request was one which I simply could not refuse, and so I send with this something, much too short though it is, which I have been able to write out.

SHRI R. WACHHA GANDHI
"SANJ VARTMAN" OFFICE
PERAJ BUILDING, FORT, BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12252

343. *TELEGRAM TO DR. SATYAPAL*

[THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI]
August 20, 1926

SATYAPAL
CONGRESS
LAHORE

LET ALL FOLLOW KRISHNA IS DOING DUTY.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 12256

344. *TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU*

August 20, 1926

PANDIT NEHRU
ALLAHABAD

DID NOT EVEN KNOW GHANSHYAMDAS CANDIDATURE GORAKHPUR. THERE MUST BE SOME MISTAKE.[1]

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11327

345. *LETTER TO MUTHUSAMY MUDALY*

August 20, 1926

With reference to your letter of the 17th July, I have now made the fullest enquiry and I have come to the conclusion that Mr. Kotak is not to blame.[2]

From a microfilm: S.N. 11203

346. *LETTER TO ESTHER MENON*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 20, 1926

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your letter. I did not misunderstand your remark about typewriters. On the contrary, I liked it.

The literal meaning of an 'ashram' is an abode, but the associations about the ashram are these: It should be simple. It should not be merely a teaching institution. It should contain predominantly those who are pledged to perpetual continence. It should have associations of sannyasa, meaning detachment from the

[1] This was in reply to Motilal Nehru's telegram of August 19, 1926 which read: Ghanshyamdas Birla's workers representing that you approve his candidature Assembly Benares Gorakhpur division from which Sriprakasa already nominated and approved by Working Committee as Congress candidate. Please authorize contradiction. *Vide* also "Letter to G. D. Birla", 20-8-1926.

[2] The context is not ascertainable.

world. It should, therefore, be a voluntarily poor organization. There should, therefore, be rigid simplicity about it. Its object must invariably be formation of character with a view to self-realization. The idea of master and servant is wholly repugnant to such an institution. All men and women in an ashram are expected to do bodily labour and all enjoy an equal status. The idea of superiority has no place in it. The head of an ashram is in the place of a parent and he is expected to regard the rest as his own children. I wonder if I have now given you fairly the characteristics of an ashram.

It grieves me whenever I find that a medical man is weak or ailing. It is a perpetual reminder to us that medicine is such an incomplete, such an unreliable, and such an empirical science. If we think about it with sufficient detachment, we would at once realize its inherent weakness by understanding that there is no such thing as an absolute cure. The most potent drugs admit of innumerable exceptions. The most successful operation leaves literally and in the spirit a scar behind. It would certainly be a good thing, if you could hasten your departure for Denmark. Change of climate will be the best cure.

What you say about fasting is quite true. It has no absolute value and it certainly does not produce the slightest spiritual effect if the motive behind it is not really spiritual. Fasting with a mixed motive ends with purely material results. But fasting for the sake of unfoldment of the spirit is a discipline I hold to be absolutely necessary at some stage or other in the evolution of an individual. I always considered Protestantism to be deficient in this particular. Every other religion of any importance appreciates the spiritual value of fasting. Crucifixion of the flesh is a meaningless term unless one goes voluntarily through pangs of hunger. For one thing, identification with the starving poor is a meaningless term without the experience behind. But I quite agree that even an eighty days' fast may fail to rid a person of pride, selfishness, ambition and the like. Fasting is merely a prop. But as a prop to a tottering structure is of inestimable value, so is the prop of fasting of inestimable value for a struggling soul.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 84-5

347. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday, Sravana Shukla 12, August 20, 1926

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I enclose a telegram from Motilalji. The reply[1] which I have sent to him is on the back of the same sheet. I have also sent you a wire as under:

> Motilalji wires I approve your candidature Assembly Gorakhpur. Have replied know nothing about your candidature. There must be some mistake. Do you know anything about alleged representation.

What can all this mean? I am awaiting your reply.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I hope you are keeping good health.

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6133. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

348. LETTER TO REHANA TYABJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 21, 1926

DEAR SISTER[2],

It was a delight to receive your letter, it would seem, after ages. Do you want me to write to Sir Henry Lawrence directly or to prepare a note for you which you can send? Whilst your answer is quite good, he must have all the satisfaction that one can give him in the way of statistics. After all the trouble one may take, it is just possible what may appear to us to be solid and tangible may not appear so to him. But that does not matter as the inspirer of *The Song Celestial*[3] would say. We must act with detachment and leave the results to God.

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Motilal Nehru", 20-8-1926.
[2] The source has this in Arabic script.
[3] Edwin Arnold's English version of the *Bhagavad Gita*

I observe that, as behoves a good girl, your postscript is as long as your letter and, perhaps, more important. Please tell the sceptical sister that the revival of the spinning-wheel has actually rescued from destruction many arts and crafts. Does she think that there was no art in India before we received silk thread from China and Paris which we began doing only a hundred years ago or less? When spinning and weaving were at their height, we were in possession of the highest art and all the art on fabric one sees now is a copy of the Indian original. Personally, I do not mind the use of Chinese silk for embroidery. But those who are afraid of art destruction may use as much as they like of Chinese thread so long as the background is hand-spun khaddar. No amount of travelling and appeals to newspapers, etc., can possibly rescue Indian art from destruction if we cannot rescue ourselves as a nation from destruction. Revival of Indian art will only come when we develop love enough for our country to enable us to cling to one another and sink our differences and to sacrifice our all for the sake of the country. The best way, therefore, to preserve and revive the Indian art is for us to become sufficiently Indian ourselves. But all this I don't need to say to you. You are saturated with the national spirit. May God give you long life and health for exhibiting that spirit as occasion demands. Those who love to do certain things end by doing those things, and if you are longing to meet Miss Slade whom we call Mirabai and still more to sing to me some of your new *bhajans* then you will end by coming here at the earliest opportunity.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BAPU

MISS REHANA TYABJI
CAMP, BARODA

From a photostat: S.N. 9600

349. *MY NOTES*

National Schools

There seems to be some misunderstanding regarding the article in which I wrote about National Schools in the *Navajivan* of August 8. The Principal of the Rashtriya Vinay Mandir in Bombay has written to me as follows:

> You have given it as your opinion in that article that national schools should be closed now, and so one of the donors of the Vinay Mandir says that he need give us nothing now.

The passage which has been thus misunderstood read as follows:

> Where the parents are fired by national ideals and prove their adhesion by giving adequate donations for the support of national schools, and, where the teachers being themselves believers in the national ideal are ceaselessly striving to enforce it, I can understand a relaxation of the discipline if the scholars are lukewarm about the ideal. In such a case, it may be necessary to continue the school. For we may hope some day to influence the scholars. But at the time of writing these lines, I can think of no such school.[1]

The last sentence of this paragraph has been misunderstood. It has been taken to mean that I do not regard any of the national schools fit enough to be continued. There is another sentence in that paragraph, the first one, which states what type of school should be closed down:

> Where either the parents or the teachers are opposed to the national ideal, the school should certainly be closed.[2]

In the case of the Vinay Mandir in Bombay, as in the case of many other such schools, we know that the parents and teachers are in agreement with the ideals of national education. They want national schools to be run in accordance with the ideal of national education as defined by the Congress. Schools which are so run need not be closed down. The sentences which followed were intended to point out that in such cases it would not be wrong, even if the pupils obstinately refused to wear khadi and fulfil other conditions, to keep the schools going and so give the pupils

[1] & [2] These paragraphs are taken from *Young India*, 2-9-1926.

an opportunity to change. I stated at the conclusion of the paragraph, "I can think of no such school." What I meant was that, if there were any national schools where both the parents and the teachers were in agreement with its ideals and active in promoting them and yet the pupils obstinately disregarded the rules about khadi, etc., I should certainly like to know their names. As regards the Rashtriya Vinay Mandir in Bombay, my impression is that there even the pupils are filled with the national spirit and wear khadi and spin. There can be no question of closing down such a school. I hope that generous-hearted men will continue to help such schools.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 22-8-1926

350. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Sravana Shukla 14, 1982 [August 22, 1926]

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have already written to you about the German lady here. This warm weather does not suit her, and so I wish to send her for a month to some cool place. I have written to Devdas[1] and Stokes[2] to know if they can help. If you have room in your bungalow, I think of sending her there. She will not be a burden to anyone. She is a very simple lady, with a fine sense of humour and quite good-natured. If you can accommodate her, please send a wire. I intend to let her start from here on Thursday.

SJT. MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
HOMI VILLA
PANCHGANI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12255

[1] Devdas Gandhi was then at Mussoorie.

[2] He was running a school at Kotgarh near Simla.

351. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS P. ASAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Sravana Vad 1 [*August 24, 1926*][1]

CHI. LAKSHMIDAS,

I have your letter. I will go through the article about Mahudha and then publish it. It surprises me why you have still not recovered your health completely. I wish to see you fresh-looking and with some flesh on your body. If it is only towards the end of the English month that you can come, I should like you to come six days earlier; for Moti is here at present, and she ought to leave this place very soon and go to her husband. That is the drift of Najuklal's letter. Velanbehn, of course, wishes that she should stay on and spend even the month of *Bhadarva* here, or at any rate till you arrive. But I feel that Moti's duty is to leave for Broach or Baroda at the earliest opportunity. Besides, if you are here, it will help both Velanbehn and me in the treatment which I am trying just now on her.

Gangabehn's problem is practically solved. We have got possession of the house in Vijapur, and the necessary things have also been purchased. A little more remains to be done though, thanks to my having trusted things to others.

I wish to discuss with you a little further your letter to Maganlal about cotton. I could not follow it completely. About other matters, when we meet.

SJT. LAKSHMIDAS PURUSHOTTAM
JAYAJIRAO COTTON MILLS
GWALIOR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12258

[1] The addressee's article about Mhuadha referred to in the letter was published in November 1926. In 1926 *Sravana Vad* 1 fell on August 24.

352. LETTER TO AVANTIKABAI GOKHALE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Sravana Vad 2 [August 25, 1926]

DEAR SISTER,

Read the accompanying letter and return it, along with the reply. I hope both you and Shri Gokhale are keeping well.

I suppose you know that Devdas is at present in Simla.

SMT. AVANTIKABAI GOKHALE
ATMARAM MANSION
GIRGAUM
BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12257

353. LETTER TO NANABHAI BHATT

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Sravana Vad 2, August 25, 1926

BHAISHRI NANABHAI,

I got your letter and telegram. I hope Chi. Vidyut is all right now. I shall keep quiet till Vithalrai is here.

Ramnarayan[1] told me yesterday that Ballubhai[2] and Diwan[3] had decided to seek recognition[4] by the Government. I asked him thereupon to start immediately in the Vidyapith itself a class for such of the pupils in the seventh standard who may wish to join it. We shall of course have to obtain afterwards the committee's permission for that. I have asked Ramnarayan not to incur any expenditure meanwhile. It has been decided that the pupils who may join the class should be accommodated in the Mahavidyalaya building. If you can, come over for a while and examine the position.

[1] Ramnarayan V. Pathak, an educationist, scholar and critic of Gujarat
[2] Ballubhai P. Thakore
[3] Jivanlal Diwan
[4] For their Proprietary High School at Ahmedabad

Herewith a cuttting which someone sent to me with a request that I should forward it to you. I do not believe that you have said or believed anything of the kind hinted at in it.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12259

354. *NOTES*

A Wise Step

The manager of the khadi store conducted in the office of the Pranidaya Dhyanpracharak Sangh, Davengere, Mysore, reports that the municipal council of that place has removed the octroi duty imposed on imports of khadi. This is an example to be copied by every municipality. It is the least that municipalities can do for the revival of the ancient industry. Let me repeat for the thousandth time that khadi means cloth woven on a hand-loom out of hand-spun yarn.

Gujarat Figures

The following figures bring the production and sale of khadi in Gujarat to the end of June:

	Production	Sale
Gujarat	Rs. 8,149	Rs. 9,647
Total of previous report as published in *Young India* of 5th inst.	Rs. 1,43,293	Rs. 1,98,857
Total up to end of June.	Rs. 1,51,442	Rs. 2,08,504

Young India, 26-8-1926

355. *TELLTALE FIGURES*

The following summary of the membership of the All-India Spinners' Association of the 'A' class cannot fail to attract the attention of the readers, especially of the members themselves.

Province	Enrolled Members	Full Subscribers	Percentage
1. Ajmer	17	7	41
2. Andhra	455	109	24
3. Assam	155	2	1
4. Bihar	227	61	27
5. Bengal	549	178	33

6.	Berar	18	14	78
7.	Burma	6	5	83
8.	C.P. Hindi	47	26	55
9.	C.P. Marathi	67	47	70
10.	Bombay	80	44	55
11.	Delhi	21	6	29
12.	Gujarat	467	282	60
13.	Karnatak	176	61	35
14.	Kerala	61	21	34
15.	Maharashtra	237	89	38
16.	Punjab	68	23	34
17.	Sind	44	20	45
18.	Tamil Nadu	501	160	32
19.	U.P.	150	61	41
20.	Utkal	33	15	45
		3,379	1,231	36

As against 3,379 persons who enrolled themselves as members only 1,231, i.e., 36 per cent have paid their quota of yarn to date. Assam with only 1 p.c. full subscribers comes by far the last on the list. Andhra is the next offender with 24 p.c. Burma tops the list with 83 p.c., but it is no wonder since it had only 6 members to start with.

These figures show that people do not like regularity, they do not like to work steadily for the country. The spirit of sustained sacrifice is lacking. No one need imagine that with monetary subscriptions the conditions will be much better. Where is the public worker who has had no painful experience of arrears? I remember the complaints of old Congress Secretaries when the A.I.C.C. subscription used to be a lump sum. Negligence is ingrained among many workers. Public work has not yet risen from the status of a pastime or patronage to that of a primary duty. And yet for one who desires a healthy social and public life, public service is as much a duty as is service done to oneself or to one's family. May not the ancient five sacrifices be renamed sacrifice for self, family, village, nation and humanity? That life only is worth living in which there is a harmonious correlation, no antagonism, among the several sacrifices. The spinning subscription is a national sacrifice of the lightest measure, not in conflict with the requirements of humanity, and certainly not in conflict with those of the village, family or the individual.

For me, therefore, the lesson that this study in figures teaches is not one of despair, nor of revising the nature of the subscrip-

tion or the method of paying it. The more I study the spinning movement, the more convinced I become of the soundness of requiring and giving steady daily labour of half an hour at least at the spinning-wheel and of keeping up the present rate of subscription. Even if the 1,231 members keep up the regular supply, without fuss, without interruption, the discipline will revolutionize their lives and the subscribers will be found to be fit instruments for national service when the supreme test comes, as it must some day.

The largest number of steady workers is derived today from this body of regular spinners. The statistics I am collecting and publishing, as regularly as I can get them, must open the eyes of all unbiassed thinkers to the usefulness of the only immediate remedy for the growing distress of the poor millions and to the only real link between the cultured few and the starving many. Babu Rajendra Prasad has well said in his eloquent defence of khaddar:

> But people may say why should we pay this higher price? What after all is the good of reviving this dead industry? Only those can put this question who have not sufficiently realized the grinding poverty of the masses of the people of this country. All *a priori* economics is mute in the appalling presence of this chill penury which freezes the genial current of the soul. I will give only one figure which is a rough figure but which is none the less reliable. In 1922, we distributed no less than Rs. 26,000 by way of wages to weavers and spinners. In 1925 we paid no less than Rs. 46,000 out of which Rs. 28,000 was paid to spinners alone—spinners who could not have earned anything if they did not spin. These figures relate only to the organization under the direct control of the Congress in this province. They do not include the figures of the Gandhi Kutir whose work until recently was even more extensive than that of the Congress Khaddar Bhandar. I ask in all solemnity what other organization is there in this province which can afford to distribute over a lakh to people who would otherwise earn nothing and to whom it gives what it gives not by way of charity but as wages honestly earned? Khaddar is really a life-giving industry and to revive it is to furnish food to countless starving persons. It blesses those who give and those who receive it, as it is not mere charity, and creates in the recipient a sense of self-respect while at the same time making the distributor humble.

And what is true of Bihar is true of every province.

The A.I.S.A. is operating with over Rs. 18,00,000 throughout the whole of India. The bulk of the returns goes directly into the pockets of those who would otherwise be workless.

Let the sceptics peruse the figures. If they have better use for the money, better employment for the workless paupers, let them say so. If not, it is up to them to lend a helping hand to this great and growing movement which is as much moral and economic as it is political. Its moral and economic effect is immediate and tangible, its political effect is distant and derivable from the first two, not independent of them.

Let those who are in arrears beware! At the end of the year, they will find their names struck off, if they do not wake up and spin and send the yarn they have hitherto neglected to spin and send. Debts of honour have priority over those enforceable in a court of law. The spinning subscription is a national debt of honour.

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356. CURSE OF CHILD MARRIAGE

Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins has sent me notes of a tragic case that appears to have just occurred in Madras and has arisen out of a child marriage, the girl being 13 years and the 'husband' 26. Hardly had the pair lived together for 13 days when the girl died of burning. The jury have found that she committed suicide owing to the unbearable and inhuman solicitations of the so-called husband. The dying deposition of the girl would go to show that the 'husband' had set fire to her clothes. Passion knows no prudence, no pity.

But how the girl died is beside the point. The indisputable facts are:

(1) that the girl was married when she was only 13;

(2) that she had no sexual desire inasmuch as she resisted the advances of the 'husband';

(3) that the 'husband' did make cruel advances;

(4) and that she is now no more.

It is irreligion, not religion, to give religious sanction to a brutal custom. The *smritis* bristle with contradictions. The only reasonable deduction to be drawn from the contradictions is that the texts that may be contrary to known and accepted morality, more especially, to the moral precepts enjoined in the *smritis* themselves, must be rejected as interpolations. Inspiring verses on self-restraint could not be written at the same time and by the same pen that wrote the verses encouraging the brute in man.

Only a man innocent of self-restraint and steeped in vice could call it a sin not to marry a girl before she reached the age of monthly periods. It should be held sinful to marry a girl for several years after the periods begin. There cannot be even the thought of marriage before the periods begin. A girl is no more fit to bear children on beginning the periods than a lad is to procreate as soon as he grows the first hair on his upper lip.

The custom of child marriage is a moral as well as a physical evil. For it undermines our morals and induces physical degeneration. By countenancing such customs we recede from God as well as swaraj. A man who has no thought of the tender age of a girl has none of God. And undergrown men have no capacity for fighting battles of freedom or, having gained it, of retaining it. Fight for swaraj means not mere political awakening but an all-round awakening—social, educational, moral, economic and political.

Legislation is being promoted to raise the age of consent. It may be good for bringing a minority to book. But it is not legislation that will cure a popular evil, it is enlightened public opinion that can do it. I am not opposed to legislation in such matters but I do lay greater stress on cultivation of public opinion. The Madras case would have been impossible if there had been a living public opinion against child marriages. The young man in question is not an illiterate labourer but an intelligent educated typist. It would have been impossible for him to marry or touch the girl if public opinion had been against the marriage or the consummation of the marriage of girls of tender age. Ordinarily, a girl under 18 years should never be given in marriage.

Young India, 26-8-1926

357. NOTES

Pandit Malaviyaji and the Bengal Government

The Government of Bengal may well congratulate itself upon the courage it has shown in retracing its steps and dropping the proceedings against Pandit Malaviyaji and Dr. Moonje for their civil disobedience.[1] But one could wish that there was grace about the withdrawal of these proceedings. The Standing Counsel for the Government of Bengal made a statement which, I think, was

[1] *Vide* "Principal Dhruva and National Education", 8-8-1926.

highly offensive. There is no regret shown on behalf of the Government, no apology offered to the distinguished patriots, but, on the contrary, a veiled suggestion that there was possibly some connection between Panditji's presence in Calcutta and the riots that took place, although the Standing Counsel is obliged to admit that there was nothing offensive or provocative in Panditji's speech on the strength of which the prohibition order was taken out. Surely, it was up to the officials who took the proceedings to see the full text of the speech before applying for an order under Section 144, especially when the order was to be against persons so well-known in public life as Pandit Malaviyaji and Dr. Moonje. If it was a private party that had acted so hastily as the Government of Bengal seem to have done in this case, that party would have rendered itself liable to an action for damages. If public opinion was well organized and strong, it could bring to book a Government that acted so rashly and recklessly as the Bengal Government have done. In the face of these proceedings is it any wonder that complaint is often heard that proceedings are often thoughtlessly, hastily, and sometimes even vindictively, taken against innocent persons in virtue of arbitrary powers taken by the Government under laws in the framing of which they have had the most part?

'Squeezing Out'

A letter from South Africa states:

> The policy of squeezing out or "civilizing labour" in all Government Departments is proceeding apace and in the Railway Department at Pietermaritzburg and Ladysmith hundreds of Indians have been given notice, in some cases of thirteen days only, to transfer to Durban or get out of the service. This is being done with people who have given 25 to 30 years to the service at one and the same place. To these poor illiterate people who have given the best part of their lives to the services, a transfer is a change to a new world, and I am made to understand that in a large number of cases they are leaving the service and getting repatriated to India.

The alternative of transfer to Durban is really no alternative to leaving the service. And those who do go to Durban must ultimately come under the ban when the 'civilizing' process reaches Durban. What hurts one however is not the notices but the indecent hurry with which the policy of extirpation of the Asiatic is being pursued in spite of the fact that very soon a conference is to sit to consider the question of the status of Asiatics

in South Africa. But let us wait, prepare the atmosphere for the coming South African deputation and hope for the best.

The Colour Bar Bill

The following letter from the Department of Mines and Industries, South Africa, to the local Indian Congress is the finish to the Colour Bar Bill:

> With reference to your telegram dated the 14th instant addressed to His Excellency the Governor-General regarding the Mines and Works Act Amendment Bill, I am directed to inform you that it is the intention of the Government in due course to consider the issue of regulations to restore at all events the *status quo* as it existed before the Courts declared certain regulations *ultra vires*. This is necessary in the interests of health and safety.
>
> There is no present intention of extending the regulations beyond the position as it existed prior to the Court's judgment. Should any such extension be contemplated in the future every reasonable opportunity will be given to all parties in the Union interested in the matter to make representations.
>
> In the circumstances no good purpose would appear to be served by granting the interview proposed.

It means no relief to the community except that no drastic measures are to be immediately taken. It contains no guarantee that no such steps will be taken in future. On the contrary, the community has been gently prepared for its enforcement. As I have remarked before, a bad law is bad, whether it is immediately enforced or hung like the sword of Damocles over the heads of those affected by it.

Its Awful Consequences

A correspondent sends me a long article on child marriage and enforced widowhood in Bengal. He says:

> You are surely aware that the condition of Hindu society in other provinces is no better, if not worse, than that prevailing in Bengal. Early marriage and girl widowhood exist in a specially virulent form amongst the depressed classes of Hindu society. In Bengal it is very frequent amongst Dom, Chamar, Namasudra, Kaibarta (fishermen) classes. These people on the other hand form the bulk of Hindu population in Bengal. I wish I had time and opportunity to study nd prepare similar figures for other provinces.

The article bristles with figures which are in the main included in the summary which I reproduced a fortnight ago from Sir

Gangaram's statistics.[1] The following conclusions drawn by the writer are interesting and instructive:

i. It is sapping the vitality of thousands of our promising boys and girls on whom the future of our society entirely rests.
ii. It is bringing into existence every year thousands of weaklings—both boys and girls—who are born of immature parenthood.
iii. It is a very fruitful source of appalling child mortality and stillbirths that now prevail in our society.
iv. It is brining into exsitence thousands of girl widows every year who in their turn are a source of corruption and dangerous infection to the society.
v. It is a very important cause of the gradual and steady decline of Hindu society in point of (1) number, (2) physical strength and courage and (3) morality.

Young India, 26-8-1926

358. 'WHY ONLY YOURS?'

Lala Shamlal of Hissar writes:

Some time ago I read an article by you in *Young India*[2] headed "The Cobwebs of Ignorance". In this article you said *inter alia* that the spinning-wheel was necessary for the economic salvation of India and that therefore it was necessary that every Indian worked it either by way of sacrifice or otherwise. You also said there that it was the gateway of spiritual salvation for yourself. But why for yourself only? Let us examine this proposition in the light of two great civilizations of the earth, viz., that of the East (Aryan) and that of the West (Grecian). Excepting perhaps Kabir and Nanak, the two great *rishis* of India in the middle ages, who have gone much higher and have symbolized the charkha with the great force of the universe (cosmic energy, life or *prana*) every *rishi* in India either in the middle ages or in ancient times has pointed out that the charkha was the gateway to woman's salvation.

The Upanishads say that the Lord of Creation desiring the creation produced at first a pair—life and food—and with these two forces He created the sun and the moon as life and food respectively and so on till the whole creation was made. Man and woman were produced as life and food, respectively. These two forces united together made the whole (world). The following Vedic *mantra* is recited just before *homa* and

[1] *Vide* "Enforced Widowhood", 5-8-1926.
[2] Dated 27-5-26; *Vide* Vol. XXX, pp. 449-54.

saptapadi: "ॐ या अकृंतन्नचयन या अतन्वतयाश्च देवी स्तन्तू अमी तो ततन्थ । ता स्तवा देवी रजरसे सवयववायुस्च यतीदम परीधत स्वासः ॥"

"O bride! look here, I have brought these clothes for you. These are sacred clothes made by *devis* (women) of my country by carding the cotton and by spinning and weaving with their own hands. Wear these with faith and get yourself entitled to perform the *yajna* with me. I pray that the same *devis* may continue to supply you with such clothes and you may continue to wear them for lifelong years.

Thus according to the ancient Aryan philosophy one who has not understood the charkha cannot understand his self or the universe and cannot realize *Brahman* just as one who has not understood *vyashti* (individual) can never realize *samashti* (whole). Now let us see what the Western (Greek) civilization, of which Christianity and Islam are but later developments, says in this matter. Everyone knows the lines: "When Adam delved and Eve span who was then the gentleman?" According to this the duty of the husband was to till the ground and that of the wife was to spin and weave.

Wife comes from a root meaning to weave just as the name *Uma*, the consort of Shiva, means in Sanskrit one who weaves. Thus the Western philosophy regarding charkha seems also to take us to the same idea as the Aryan philosophy. Now nationality is the outcome of two forces united together, viz., politics and religion. One is nothing without the other. While the former is the establishment of a spirit of equality outside, the latter is the realization of the spirit of oneness within. Economic salvation as a branch of politics can do no good unless it is joined with the other force of religion.

I wish I could say with my correspondent that the charkha is the gateway to the salvation of all. But he must recognize my limitations. I have to write as well for sceptics as for believers. The authorities and arguments addressed by Lala Shamlal will not, I fear, appeal to the sceptic. The latter will say, and from his standpoint correctly, that the texts in support of the religious value of the charkha are produced from an outworn civilization. He will argue that if a *rishi* were to write the Vedas today, he will draw his spiritual illustrations from the steam engine or, better still, the electric motor, the wireless and the like and the *rishi* of the future will think nothing of wireless and even the aeroplanes. His spiritual vocabulary will deal with the etheric doubles and thought-waves cutting through space in fractions of time denoted by specially invented words representing perhaps a thousandth part of a second. The spiritual value of the charkha can only appeal to those who believe with me that this civilization denoted by an insane rush after destroying the limitations of

space imposed upon man by nature are coming to an end, even as possibly mightier civilizations based upon attempts to find happiness in multiplicity of material pursuits and comforts have perished. If Lala Shamlal takes the spiritual message of the charkha to the villages, he will not need my authority. For, I have derived mine from them.

Young India, 26-8-1926

359. LETTER TO ALI HASAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 26, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Of course, I remember you well and your hospitality. I must, however, confess that I do not at all like your manifesto. You have made communalism as the pivot of your appeal and you are looking to the Hindu voters to vote for you not because of your superior ability and other qualifications but solely on the ground of your being a Mussalman. I feel that you have struck the wrong note. If you had, on the contrary, recited your better qualifications, if you claim them, and added the hope that your being a Mussalman will not be regarded as a disqualification by the Hindu voters, from my point of view, your manifesto would have been unexceptionable. As it is, on the merits, I am obliged to give you a hostile opinion. But, in any case, even if your manifesto had been unexceptionable, being an avowed non-co-operator, I cannot have given you anything whatsoever by way of endorsement for publication.

Yours sincerely,

ALI HASSAN, ESQ.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW
BANK ROAD
PATNA

From a microfilm: S.N. 11083

360. LETTER TO R. A. ADAMS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 26, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I waited all these days for actually receiving the parcel of the Bible copies[1] before acknowledging your letter which I received duly last week. The parcel has not yet come forward and the students will have probably to be without their copy even next Saturday. I now see that you have sent the parcel by goods [train] and the goods parcels sometimes take even as much as a month. When the parcel comes, I shall take care of the extra seven copies.

Yours sincerely,

R. A. ADAMS, ESQ.,
SECRETARY
BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY
(BOMBAY AUXILIARY)
166-170, HORNBY ROAD
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 10987

361. LETTER TO TULSI MAHER

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday, Sravana Krishna 4, August 27, 1926

BHAI TULSI MAHER,

I feel happy whenever I get a letter from you. You are doing very good work. Send me a few pieces by way of samples from the varieties of cloth being woven there. What does a charkha cost there? From where do you get the wood? Is the spindle made locally? If yes, what does it cost? How many charkhas are plying? What is the rate of payment for spinning?

[1] *Vide* "Letter to R. A. Adams", 18-8-1926.

What is the count of the yarn? If you have not introduced the practice of testing the strength of the yarn, you should do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6526

362. LETTER TO MARICHI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday, Sravana Vad 4, August 27, 1926

BHAISHRI MARICHI,

I got your letter. You may have been satisfied with your stay in the Ashram, but I was not. I cannot bear the thought that anyone staying here as a guest should fall ill. If I had known [about your illness] earlier, I would have taken all measures which would have satisfied me at any rate. I believe that we should be able to adjust ourselves to any climate. I had assumed that you would be able to do so. Now I will see what I can do when you are here again.

What you write about the spinning-wheel is quite correct. The reasons for the movement deserve to be closely examined.

SHRI MARICHI
SYT. H. P. MORRIS
61, COWASJI PATEL ROAD
FORT
BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12260

363. LETTER TO NANABHAI BHATT

THE ASHRAM,
Friday, Sravana Vad 4, August 27, 1926

BHAISHRI NANABHAI,

I have gone through the text-books. I think I read *Madhpudo*[1] with sufficient care. I had hoped that I would find myself interested and absorbed while reading these books, but I was not. I felt like criticizing all the time. When I came to the lesson on

[1] Manuscript magazine of the national school at Sabarmati Ashram

Ali, I became serious. I felt that it might be a fine piece of writing, but as it is it would certainly not please Muslims. I think that many of the lessons require to be reconsidered and revised. If you wish, we will discuss this further when we meet. My view may possibly be wrong. There may be some other point of view from which the very same book may be interesting. I can today read with interest the Upanishads which formerly used to send me to sleep. The principal writers are all of them experienced men. I feel unhappy why, even then, I do not appreciate the lessons. All the same, I must say, must not I, what I feel?

BAPU

SHRI DAKSHINAMOORTI BHAVAN
BHAVNAGAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19945; also 12261

364. *LETTER TO G. SITARAM SASTRY*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 28, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your long letter. It makes painful reading. If the workers do not respond to you (as according to your letter evidently they do not), is it any use in continuing the agency? What is the use of shutting our eyes to facts? And, if the workers will not respond to you or Deshbhakta Venkatappayya, does it also not follow that they will respond to nobody? It seems to me that in the circumstances it will be as well to close the agency. But, that does not mean stopping all organized khadi work in Andhra Desh. But it does mean recognizing the truth of the situation and bowing to it. You will then gather together those few workers, if there are any, who will be absolutely loyal to you and you will develop khadi with their aid. Independent organizations will still continue and they may do what they like. By being thus truthful and recognizing our limitations, we shall be able some day to overcome them and expand as we ought to.

This is my own personal opinion given without reference to the Council. First of all, I would like to know your own views

before taking any action through the All-India Spinners' Association.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. SITARAM SASTRY,
ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION
(ANDHRA BRANCH)
GUNTUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 11232

365. LETTER TO AVADHNANDAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 28, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I think you are taking an unduly pessimistic view about Hindi Prachar work. Those who are actually doing the teaching work should continue to perform their duty in full confidence that duty heartily and self-sacrificingly performed must bear ample fruit in due course.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 11297

366. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 29, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

Here is another letter of the type I sent you before.

Mr. Bharucha has told me all about you. He wanted me to send you some money. I wish I could do so. But it is not possible.

Mr. Birla has offered to loan Rs. 70,000 for one year certainly without interest and without security to the Association. But, I feel that unless we have a reserve in the Association coffers or at least that amount, we must not make use of the loan. We con-

sidered the matter yesterday in the Council and others also agreed. Have you any opinion about this?

I hope both you and Hemaprabha Devi are doing quite all right.

Yours,

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
170, BOW BAZAAR STREET
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 11234

367. LETTER TO REHANA TYABJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
August 29, 1926

MY DEAR REHANA,

I have now secured both your letter and postcard. Both the letter and the postcard I got only yesterday. You have addressed the postcard at Ahmedabad. So it came redirected from Ahmedabad a day late. The letter remained on the office board for some time as unclaimed because of the Urdu writing on the envelope which nobody understood. You wrote my name in English but the receiver thought that the Urdu name belonged to someone else in the Ashram. It was only on a searching enquiry that the letter was traced on the office board outside. Of course, the moral of it is that every one of us should know both Devnagari and Persian scripts. Till then, these mistakes and delays will continue.

I shall now deal with Sir Henry Lawrence directly and send him the information he requires.[1]

The battle over China silk has now to be postponed to another day when all of you come again to the Ashram. You should understand that I did not have enough of your *bhajans* when you were here. You have, therefore, to come, if for nothing else, for giving me more *bhajans*. You must become better and stronger. Mirabai has told me all about your conversation with her. You shall certainly come and stay as long as you can and as often as you like. If you will only make yourself at home

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Rehana Tyabji", 21-8-1926.

here and express all your needs every endeavour will be made to supply them.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

MISS REHANA TYABJI
CAMP, BARODA

From a photostat: S.N. 9601

368. LETTER TO SHAMBHUSHANKER

THE ASHRAM,
Monday, August 30, 1926

BHAI SHAMBHUSHANKER,

I have your letter.

Your diet should contain some greens. You should grow them in your own backyard. Pickles are not at all necessary, but may be somewhat useful in summer as a method of preserving greens. If they are to be harmless, they should contain no mustard or chillies or oil. Vinegar can be used as a preservative in pickles.

I have not altered the views expressed in my book[1]; but, not being able to think of a substitute for milk in our country, I have been forced to include it. I have also observed that the oils available here do not suit delicate stomachs, and, therefore, I generally advise people to avoid them. Salt is not essential. In fact, from the point of view of *brahmacharya* giving up salt is beneficial. As a medicine, it has many uses. When I fast I always mix some salt in the water which I drink.

Whey made from mildly fermented curds is quite all right as a substitute for milk. There is no harm in removing all the butter from the whey. On the contrary, it helps.

About the quantity or food no absolute standard can be laid down. Everyone should fix his own standard on the basis of his experience. Wheat, milk, one green and a lemon—nothing else is required. The sugar present in wheat and milk is enough for our purpose.

I think this covers all your questions. Till you have recovered complete strength and get normal motions, live only on milk and grapes or whey and grapes. After the fast is ended

[1] Presumably, *Arogya Vishe Samanya Jnan,* a Gujarati book; *vide* "General Knowledge about Health", Vols. XI and XII.

it is necessary in every case to have an enema to ensure bowel movement. If you do not start getting normal motions in two or three days, you should take a little castor oil.

Blessings from
BAPU

KHADI KARYALAYA
GARIYADHAR
KATHIAWAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19946

369. LETTER TO SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 1, 1926

DEAR SURESH BABU,

I have your letter.[1] Mr. Birla has now altered his mind and he has written to me saying that he is prepared to advance money without interest for one year on the undertaking of the Association to return the loan on the due date. This has placed me in a difficulty because that means that the Association should take such securities as are enforceable and absolutely adequate. My own intention, therefore, is not to make use of Mr. Birla's offer. If at the end of the year, you must borrow from the bank to refund his loan, is it worth while going to the trouble of finding securities for one year, if the same ceremony is to be performed at the end of one year? After all, you will save only Rs. 1,800/- in one year. And my advice, therefore, is not to trouble about this loan and do what you like with the bank. But, if you insist upon making use of Mr. Birla's money, please let me know whose guarantees are to be, and what their status is.

Yours sincerely,

SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI
KHADDAR DEPT.
ABHOY ASHRAM
COMILLA

From a microfilm: S.N. 11235

[1] Acknowledging on August 28 Gandhiji's letter of August 21, Banerji had written that he did not meet Birla in Calcutta but hoped that the latter

370. LETTER TO S. E. STOKES

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I quite appreciate the difficulty in your taking Miss Haussding. She has now gone to Mussoorie. She will be there for some time with Devdas.

Of course, I am longing to be with you and pass even if it is only for a few days. When that time will come I do not know. I am watching with considerable interest your experiment amongst the hill folks.

With love to you all.

Yours sincerely,

S. E. STOKES, ESQ.
KOTGARH
SIMLA HILLS

From a photostat: S.N. 19679

371. LETTER TO B. S. T. SWAMI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is hardly necessary for one to come to Sabarmati to lead a pure and simple life. Everyone can do that in his own home, thus, you can certainly refuse to marry, you need not eat any but the simplest food, you can cultivate the habit of retiring to bed early and getting up early in the morning and beginning the day with thanksgiving to the Almighty. You are already treating the untouchables as your very own. You can join a Hindi class there conducted by the Hindi Prachar office in Triplicane and you can certainly learn how to

would agree to advance the loan free of interest, or else they would have to mortgage their stock to the Comilla Union Bank (S.N. 11233).

spin and adopt khaddar for your dress. No great effort is required to practise truth and charity in thought, word and deed.

Yours sincerely,

B. S. T. Swami
3/7 Car Street
Triplicane
Madras

From a microfilm: S.N. 19680

372. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

September 1, 1926

BHAISHRI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter. I have also read the reply sent by your secretary. You need do nothing more. Have you improved in health? Jamnalalji is here at present.

Yours,
Mohandas

Sjt. Ghanshyamdasji Birla
Pilani
Rajputana

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6134. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

373. TELEGRAM TO HARIHAR SHARMA

[On or after *September 1, 1926*][1]

SAMMELAN READY. COME HERE ABOUT TUESDAY. ARE YOU FREE.

From a microfilm: S.N. 11298

[1] This was in reply to the telegram dated September 1, reading: "Reaching about Tuesday wire Harihar Sharma your convenience."

374. NOTES

A Great Industrialist

The death of Mr. Ratan Tata removes from our midst a great industrialist. Jamshedpur is the greatest Indian enterprise of the greatest Indian firm. The late Mr. Ratan Tata was a noted member of the great house of the Tatas. I had the honour of coming in close contact with him when he invited me to visit Jamshedpur in connection with some trouble with his employees. It was an agreeable surprise to me to find him full of sympathy for his employees and ready to concede everything that could be legitimately urged on their behalf. He created in my mind the impression of being a just and generous employer. His solicitude for the prosperity of the industry seemed to me to be independent of the added wealth it might bring to the distinguished house. I tender my condolences to the members of the deceased's family.

Why Obliged?

A correspondent justifying the weakness of his yarn says: "We are obliged to buy waste cotton in the market at almost the same price as good cotton." Why obliged? Surely, if good cotton is not available at a particular place, it should be procured from places where it is available. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa get their good cotton from Wardha. Manchester gets its supplies from India, Uganda, Egypt and America. Why cannot the correspondent get his from a neighbouring district or province? There is no excuse for members of the All-India Spinners' Association to spin bad yarn. An English proverb has it that things that are worth doing are worth doing well. Love of khadi must not be exhausted with the mere spinning. It is but a stepping-stone to the mastery of the art and of its economics.

Recruiting Evil

A correspondent from Sirsi (Canara) writes:

> An agent of the Assam Tea Planters intends to start a depot to canvass coolies for the plantation. He does not want Mussalman coolies for they are not obedient. He wants only Hindus who are docile. He offers Rs. 15 for every coolie registered. Is it not possible to stop the evil? There are so many misrepresentations.

The evil is no doubt great. Assam is not a depopulated place.

There is something wrong if labourers have to be taken all the way from Canara to Assam. It is impossible for the simple Canarese villagers to know the conditions in the Assam plantations. Freedom of contract is lost as soon as a tout intervenes whose business it is to get labour somehow or other. Let all the Canarese go to Assam if *they* wish and if they are not to displace the Assamese. But in the present case, if the facts be as stated by the correspondent, there can be no question of *wish* on the part of the Canarese and no outsider can go to Assam without displacing an Assamese. Tea plantations of Assam must be worked, if they are at all worked, by indigenous labour so long as there are poor people in Assam who are without employment.

My correspondent asks me to suggest remedies to avert the evil of recruiting. Public opinion is the most effective remedy. Let the correspondent collect sufficient workers who will make it their business during their spare hours to visit the neighbouring villages and warn the villagers against falling into traps laid for them. Someone among these workers should try to study conditions of labour in Assam either by a personal visit or from literature published on the subject.

"The Order of Hindu-Muslim Unity"

Begum Mohamed Zahiuddin Meccai recently delivered an address before the Women's Sarda Association at Bangalore. A correspondent has favoured me with a copy of her interesting speech from which I take the following:[1]

The sentiments are admirable but there seems to be no atmosphere for the formation of the Order suggested by the worthy lady.

Young India, 2-9-1926

[1] The extract, not reproduced here, reported the speaker's remarks that service in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity was the most sacred form of social service, that God of the Hindus and the Muslims was one, that it was 'foolish, if not mad', for Hindus and Muslims to fight and called for the setting up of the 'Sacred Order of Hindu-Muslim Unity', the members of which would work to save people of the rival communities during trouble.

375. *NATIONAL SCHOOLS*

A Sholapur correspondent informs me that a translation has appeared in the press of an article[1] I wrote in *Navajivan* (8th August last). It is said to attribute to me the opinion that I know of no school which fulfils the requirements of the definition of national educational institutions given by the Congress at Belgaum.[2] He adds that the translation is likely to damage even *bona-fide* national schools if it goes unchallenged. I am sorry I have not seen the translation. But I know that I have never given the opinion attributed to me. On the contrary, I do know some national schools that do fulfil the requirements.

I give below a translation of the paragraph referred to by the correspondent:

> Therefore where either the parents or the teachers are opposed to the national ideal, the school should certainly be closed. Where the parents are fired by national ideals and prove their adhesion by giving adequate donations for the support of national schools, and, where the teachers being themselves believers in the national ideal are ceaselessly striving to enforce it, I can understand a relaxation of the discipline if the scholars are lukewarm about the ideal. In such a case, it may be necessary to continue the school. For we may hope some day to influence the scholars. But at the time of writing these lines, I can think of no such school.

In my opinion, the last sentence is clear and unequivocal. 'Such school' manifestly refers to schools that may have believing parents and teachers and lukewarm pupils. Even at the moment of writing this note, I can recall no such school. But if there is a national school where, in spite of teachers' efforts and parents' concrete concurrence, in the shape of donations, the scholars do not carry out the ideal, my advice would be, as it is according to the paragraph quoted, not to close such a school, but to continue it for further effort. The same idea is amplified in the succeeding paragraph which therefore will bear translation. It is:

> My own experience is that where the national ideal is found dormant, the fault lies at the door of teachers. The instance quoted is that of a school where the teachers are

[1] *Vide* "National Schools", 8-8-1926.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXV.

enthusiastic, the pupils indifferent and the parents hostile, Where parents object to their children learning hand-spinning and weaving[1] khadi, and threaten to withdraw their children if 'untouchable' children are admitted, it is inconsistent with his self-respect for a teacher to hold on to the institution and persist in conducting it in the teeth of opposition from parents. It would be a waste of national time. If we conduct national institutions in spite of the opposition of parents interested in them, we should be guilty of the same fault we impute to the missionaries. We have no right to give instruction to children against the wish of their parents and thus create family dissensions. Those who are over 16 years and who understand their interest, who are capable of suffering hardship, are not in need of protection. They are self-reliant. For such, wherever necessary, we should open and undoubtedly conduct educational institutions. But, where and how many are such students throughout India? Where are the schools in which there are students who can be likened to godly, fearless, long-suffering and yet wise and respectful Prahlad? When we have numerous scholars of that description, we shall see new life everywhere and no one will want to know where is swaraj. And, in order to bring into being such scholars, we need to conduct purest national schools even though there may be only very few scholars in them. Where parents become patrons, scholars lord it over the teachers, and where the threat is held out directly or indirectly that if Congress assistance is not rendered the school will go under Government protection, there is no national school and the sooner such a school is closed the better. We understand now what non-co-operation is. We are in a position to appraise its value. We know its dangers. And, therefore, the way of non-co-operating schools is clear. Let us not deceive ourselves. Let us remain unmoved by ups and downs and let us who have faith continue our work and all will be well.

Young India, 2-9-1926

[1] The Gujarati original in *Navajivan*, 8-8-1926, however, has "wearing".

376. *WIDOW REMARRIAGE*

A correspondent pertinently asks whether Sir Ganga Ram's statistics regarding Hindu widows refer to all Hindu widows or only to those whom custom prohibits from marrying. On referring the inquiry to Sir Ganga Ram, I learn that his "statistics are *not* confined to classes in which widow remarriage is prohibited, they contain Hindu widows of all classes". Sir Ganga Ram adds:

> Moreover, it was no good to give figures of such classes only. We all know that Mussalmans and Christians can remarry, yet there are widows amongst them who will remarry sooner or later. It is the *ban* on Hindu widows which I wish to remove. I don't want to force every widow to remarry.

This is no doubt good. But the ban in Hinduism is confined only to the classes which come within the prohibited zone. Outside the zone Hindu widows marry almost as freely as Mussalman and Christian widows, though to be fair to the latter, it must be mentioned that all Mussalman and Christian widows do not remarry 'sooner or later'. There are many who do not from choice. There is no doubt, however, that a tendency exists even outside the prohibited zone to slavishly copy the so-called higher classes and to keep young widows unmarried. But so long as we have not fuller statistics, it is not possible accurately to gauge the magnitude of the evil wrought by the custom of prohibiting widows from remarrying. It is to be hoped that Sir Ganga Ram's and other associations that have specialized in this matter will collect and publish the required statistics. It should be possible to know the number of Hindu widows, say under twenty years, among the prohibited classes.

Let not my correspondent whose question was prompted probably by a desire to justify the ban and those who think with him disregard the evil of young widows being prohibited from marrying. If there be even one child widow, the wrong demands redress.

Young India, 2-9-1926

377. CRIME OF READING BIBLE

Several correspondents have written to me taking me to task for reading the New Testament to the students of the Gujarat National College. One of them asks:

> Will you please say why you are reading the Bible to the students of the Gujarat National College? Is there nothing useful in our literature? Is the *Gita* less to you than the Bible? You are never tired of saying that you are a staunch *sanatani* Hindu. Have you not now been found out as a Christian in secret? You may say a man does not become a Christian by reading the Bible. But is not reading the Bible to the boys a way of converting them to Christianity? Can the boys remain uninfluenced by the Bible reading? Are they not likely to become Christians by reading the Bible? What is there specially in the Bible that is not to be found in our sacred books? I do hope you will give an adequate reply and give preference to the Vedas over the Bible.

I am afraid I cannot comply with the last request of my correspondent. I must give preference to that which the boys lawfully want over what I or others may desire. When they invited me to give them an hour per week, I gave them the choice between reading the *Gita*, Tulsidas's *Ramayana*, and answering questions. By a majority of votes, they decided to have the New Testament and questions and answers. In my opinion, the boys were entitled to make that choice. They have every right to read the Bible or to have it read to them. I offered to read the *Gita* or the *Ramayana* as I am reading both at the Ashram to the inmates and as therefore the reading of either at the National College would have involved the least strain and the least preparation. But the boys of the College probably thought they could read the other books through others but they would have from me my interpretation of the New Testament as they knew that I had made a fair study of it.

I hold that it is the duty of every cultured man or woman to read sympathetically the scriptures of the world. If we are to respect others' religions as we would have them to respect our own, a friendly study of the world's religions is a sacred duty. We need not dread, upon our grown-up children, the influence of scriptures other than our own. We liberalize their outlook upon life by encouraging them to study freely all that is clean. Fear there would be when someone reads his own scriptures to young

people with the intention secretly or openly of converting them. He must then be biased in favour of his own scriptures. For myself, I regard my study of and reverence for the Bible, the Koran, and the other scriptures to be wholly consistent with my claim to be a staunch *sanatani* Hindu. He is no *sanatani* Hindu who is narrow, bigotted, and considers evil to be good if it has the sanction of antiquity and is to be found supported in any Sanskrit book. I claim to be a staunch *sanatani* Hindu because, though I reject all that offends my moral sense, I find the Hindu scriptures to satisfy the needs of the soul. My respectful study of other religions has not abated my reverence for or my faith in the Hindu scriptures. They have indeed left their deep mark upon my understanding of the Hindu scriptures. They have broadened my view of life. They have enabled me to understand more clearly many an obscure passage in the Hindu scriptures.

The charge of being a Christian in secret is not new. It is both a libel and a compliment—a libel because there are men who can believe me to be capable of being secretly anything, i.e., for fear of being that openly. There is nothing in the world that would keep me from professing Christianity or any other faith the moment I felt the truth of and the need for it. Where there is fear there is no religion. The charge is a compliment in that it is a reluctant acknowledgment of my capacity for appreciating the beauties of Christianity. Let me own this. If I could call myself, say, a Christian, or a Mussalman, with my own interpretation of the Bible or the Koran, I should not hesitate to call myself either. For then Hindu, Christian and Mussalman would be synonymous terms. I do believe that in the other world there are neither Hindus, nor Christians, nor Mussalmans. There all are judged not according to their labels or professions but according to their actions irrespective of their professions. During our earthly existence there will always be these labels. I therefore prefer to retain the label of my forefathers so long as it does not cramp my growth and does not debar me from assimilating all that is good anywhere else.

The hypersensitiveness that my correspondents have betrayed is but an indication of the intensity of the wave of intoleration that is sweeping through this unhappy land. Let those who can, remain unmoved by it.

Young India, 2-9-1926

378. A HEROIC SACRIFICE

A Travancore correspondent sends me the following story of noble self-sacrifice that has come under his observation:[1]

I tender my congratulations to Kannad Krishna Aiyer for his noble sacrifice. He reminds one of the heroes of the days of the *Mahabharata* who thought nothing of putting their lives in peril for the love of humanity.

Young India, 2-9-1926

379. CONSERVATION OF VITAL ENERGY

Readers of *Young India* will excuse me for discussing in public delicate problems I would fain discuss only in private. But the literature I have felt compelled to glance through and the copious correspondence my review of M. Bureau's book has given rise to demand a public discussion of a question which is of paramount interest to society. A Malabar correspondent writes:

> In your review of Monsieur Bureau's book it is stated that there is no case on record of celibacy or long abstention producing any evil effects on us. In my own case, however, three weeks seem to be the utmost limit of beneficial abstention. At the end of that period I usually feel a heaviness of body, a restlessness both of body and mind, leading to bad temper. Relief is obtained either by normal coitus or nature herself coming to the rescue by an involuntary discharge. Far from feeling weak or nervous, I become the next morning calm and light and am able to proceed to my work with added gusto.
>
> A friend of mine, however, developed distinctly injurious symptoms by abstention. He is about 32 years of age, a strict vegetarian and a very religious person. He is absolutely free from any vicious habits of body or mind. Yet he was having till two years ago, when he married, copious discharges at night followed by weakness of body and depression of spirits. Lately he developed excruciating pain in the abdominal region. On the advice of an Ayurvedic doctor he married and is now cured.

[1] Not reproduced here. The correspondent had narrated how a person, who had been influenced by non-co-operation, gave his flesh in a surgical operation to save a man who had been badly injured by a fall from an elephant who had run amuck.

> I am intellectually convinced of the superiority of celibacy on which all our ancient Shastras agree. But the experiences I have quoted above make it clear that we are not able to absorb in our system the highly vital secretion of the testes which consequently becomes a toxic product. I humbly request you, therefore, to publish, for the benefit of people like me who have no doubt as to the importance of chastity and abstention, in *Young India,* any device, such as the *asanas* of *Hatha Yoga,* which will enable us to assimilate and absorb the vital product in our system.

The instances quoted by the correspondent are typical. In several such cases I have observed hasty generalizations from insufficient data. Ability to retain and assimilate the vital fluid is a matter of long training. It must be so, as it gives a strength to body and mind such as no other process does with equal effect. Drugs and mechanical contrivances may keep the body in a tolerable condition but they sap the mind and make it too weak to resist the play of a multitude of passions which like so many deadly foes surround every human being.

Too often do we expect results in spite of practices which are calculated to retard, if not to defeat, them. The common mode of life is shaped to minister to our passions. Our food, our literature, our amusements, our business hours are all regulated so as to excite and feed our animal passions. The vast majority of us want to marry, to have children and generally to enjoy ourselves, be it ever so moderately. It will be so more or less to the end of time.

But there are, as there always have been, exceptions to the general rule. Men have wanted to live a life wholly dedicated to the service of humanity which is the same thing as saying 'to God'. They will not divide their time between the rearing of a special family and the tending of the general human family. Necessarily, such men and women cannot afford to live the general life which is designed to promote the special, individual interest. Those who will be celibates for the sake of God need to renounce the laxities of life and find their enjoyment in its austere rigours. They may be 'in the world' but not 'of it'. Their food, their business, their hours of business, their recreations, their literature, their outlook upon life must, therefore, be different from the general.

It is now time to inquire whether the correspondent and his friend *desired* to live the life of complete abstention and whether they modelled it accordingly. If not, it is not difficult to

understand the relief that the relaxation brought in the first case and the weakness that supervened in the second case. Marriage no doubt was the remedy in that second case, as in the vast majority of cases marriage is the most natural and desirable state when one finds oneself even against one's will living the married life in one's daily thought. The potency of thought unsuppressed but unembodied is far greater than that of thought embodied, that is, translated into action. And, when the action is brought under due control, it reacts upon and regulates the thought itself. Thought thus translated into action becomes a prisoner and is brought under subjection. Thus considered, marriage too is a mode of restraint.

I must not undertake in the course of a newspaper article to give detailed instructions for the guidance of those who desire to live a life of ordered restraint. I must refer them to my *Guide to Health*[1] written years ago with that end in view. It does need revision in certain parts in the light of fresh experiences, but there is nothing in the book which I would withdraw. General directions, however, may be safely reiterated here:

1. Eat moderately always leaving the dining-room with a feeling of pleasant hunger.
2. Highly spiced and fatty vegetarian foods must be avoided. Separate fat is wholly unnecessary when an adequate supply of milk is available. Little food suffices when there is little vital waste.
3. Both the body and the mind must be constantly occupied in clean pursuits.
4. Early to bed and early to rise is a necessity.
5. Above all a life of restraint presupposes an intense living desire for reunion with God. When there is heart perception of this central fact, there will be continuously increasing reliance upon God to keep His instrument pure and in order. The *Gita* says: "Passions return again and again in spite of fasting but even the desire ceases when the Divine is seen."[2] This is literally true.

The correspondent refers to *asana* and *pranayama*[3]. I believe that they have an important place in the practice of restraint. But my own experiences in this direction, I am sorry to say, are

[1] This was based on a series of articles published in 1913 under the title "General Knowledge about Health"; *vide* Vols. XI and XII.

[2] *Bhagavad Gita*, II, 59

[3] Breath-control, a technique in yoga

not worth recording. There is, to my knowledge, little literature on the subject that is based on present experience. But it is a field worthy of exploration. I would, however, warn the inexperienced reader from trying it or accepting the directions of the next *Hatha Yogi* he may meet with. Let him be sure that an abstemious and godly life is wholly sufficient to achieve the much to be desired restraint.

Young India, 2-9-1926

380. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS BHIKHABHAI

September 2, 1926

BHAISHRI PRABHUDAS,

I have your letter. You may rest assured that I do not belittle *pranayama*. But what can be achieved through *pranayama* can also be achieved through other means and, therefore, I do not look upon it as indispensable. While *pranayama* is extremely difficult to master, other means can be easily cultivated by all men, and I think it is more beneficial to employ them particularly in this age. *Pranayama* may help in observing celibacy, but I am afraid that by itself it does not dry up our pleasure in objects of sense. This is the main point. You yourself have been practising *pranayama*. When you have achieved good success in it, come and discuss the matter with me again. I should certainly like to know persons who have succeeded in the practice of *pranayama*. Kakasaheb Kalelkar, who is an inmate of the Ashram but who lives elsewhere at present because of his illness, has had good practice in *pranayama*. After he has recovered his health, please do correspond with him or see him when you are here. He will be back here, most probably, by the time of Diwali. I do not give his address, since it is essential that his correspondence should be severely restricted at present. Then there is Vinoba, who lives in Wardha. His address is: Satyagraha Ashram, Wardha. You may certainly write to him. You will probably hear what his experience has been.

RAI PRABHUDAS BHIKHABHAI
AT & P.O. KATHANA LOT
Via NADIAD

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12262

381. LETTER TO SWAMI RAGHAVANANDA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] I suppose by conquest of sleep you mean its regulation and not complete giving up of sleep. For myself, I take and need at least six hours' sleep during 24 hours. It is true that I take my sleep very lightly. But, if I do not take this minimum quantity, both body and mind suffer. Complete eradication of sex desire I hold to be a possibility and an advantage. Complete cessation of sleep I do not regard as possible or desirable. Control over sleep is attained by light diet and freedom from exhausting physical exertion.

Yours sincerely,

SWAMI RAGHAVANANDA
VEDANTA SOCIETY
24 WEST 71ST STREET
NEW YORK CITY
(U. S. A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 10807

382. LETTER TO NORMAN LEYS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your latest letter[2]. You may certainly share all my letters with any friend you like subject to the proviso that they do not find their way to the Press. Not that I mind it,

[1] Swami Raghavananda in his letter of July 24 (S.N. 10782) had stated that he was familiar with Gandhiji's ideas on 'self-conquest' and 'conquest of the sense of taste and sex desire', but that he wanted to know Gandhiji's views on 'conquest of sleep', having heard that he was a 'spare sleeper' and one who could, on waking at will, attend to worship or to writing.

[2] *Vide* Appendix II.

but it can do no good whatsoever and may possibly do harm to the cause both you and I are trying to serve.

I do not share your fear that the Mussalmans will fight any just solution. It will, however, very largely depend upon Hindu prudence, Hindu moderation and absolute fairplay. Why do you say that Islam and democracy are incompatible? On the contrary, were not the early Califs among the most democratic sovereigns the world has ever seen? But a clash of arms will not move me. Any real movement for freedom is like new birth and all its attendant travail. If we have to go through a purgatory, we must face it for the priceless boon. As a matter of fact, that clash is now taking place on a miniature scale and it may be found to be sufficient for teaching wisdom to both the parties. Already innocent blood has been spilt by the gallon.

By preference in education, I mean every backward section should be specially encouraged by special grants of scholarships. It would be the inevitable duty of the state, if it is to represent all classes, to begin with the weakest. To spend freely upon the real education of the backward classes will be ultimately to provide the safest cure for discontent. I know that the present discontent on the part of either side comes from consciousness of weakness. Hindus feel their weakness in physical strength and endurance. Mussalmans feel their weakness in education and earthly possessions. So, I look upon the present feud between the two as a healthy sign in a way. It is really unconsciously a battle for freedom. It was possible for them to have avoided this if they could have assimilated the programme of 1920. But the energy and the national consciousness that were called into being in 1920 could not possibly remain dormant and, as they could not find their way in a healthy channel, they have taken the unhealthy course of internecine bloody feud. I have not a shadow of doubt that, at the end of it, we shall feel stronger and purer because there are people who do not want this feud, who believe in non-violence as the final rock and who have not lost their heads during the turmoil.

The fear expressed by you in your final paragraph is certainly not groundless. But is it any wonder our administrative limb has atrophied? Many mount the clerical posts—they are nothing more—through flattery and the like. It would be therefore no wonder to me if, in the beginning stages of the experiment, we choose wrong men to represent us. In that case, history would be merely repeating itself. But even that should not frighten a reformer. You cannot wrap yourself in cotton wool and fight free-

dom's battle. Nor need the spectre of the I.C.S. men refusing to work frighten one. But, in spite of my strong indictment of the I.C.S. men, I have sufficient faith in their good nature as men having the upper hand when the demoralizing artificial prestige and protection these estimable men enjoy have been removed.[1]

Always at your service,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. NORMAN LEYS
BRAILSFORD
NEAR DERBY

From a photostat: S.N. 12171

383. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Saturday, Sravana Vad 13, September 4, 1926

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your letter. The description of "sparrow" is very good. I would let him know nothing about the things you mention. You have, however, put me on my guard and so there need be no fear. He has the weakness which you mention, but it will soon pass. His virtues are enduring. He is full of compassion and good-natured beyond measure. Intolerance is a form of pride. But these weaknesses seem trivial beside his virtues. Since he is under your charge, I do not worry. I am sure you have seen his letter to me. It is beautiful.

I remember to have written one letter to the Maharaja of Nabha. But now I will reply to his letter, and will send you a copy of the reply. The parcel containing spindles, etc., was dispatched to you on August 9. It was registered. It is strange that you have not received it. I have asked them to make inquiries at this end. Please inquire there, too.

I am not losing weight at such a rate. It stands at about 99. I believe I am in very good health. There must be many rulers worse than the Maharaja of Nabha. I believe that there are some. To be sure his oppression was not a little. I believe, however, that the Government did not depose him for his faults

[1] Dr. Norman Leys replied to this on September 20; *vide* Appendix III.

though. I also believe that it would not have been able to do so if he had been free from them. I have nothing else against him; only, I cannot support and help him in his agitation.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12263

384. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Sunday, Sravana Krishna 14, September 5, 1926

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I got your letter and the cutting, so I do not think about the matter at all. The present political atmosphere stinks in my nostrils.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6135. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

385. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Sunday, Sravana Vad 14, September 5, 1926

BHAISHRI KAKA,

I got your letter in which you discuss the question of the sacred thread. I do not want people who wear it to discard it, nor am I particular that they should continue to wear it. In this age, it does not have even as much value as a simple piece of thread. Moreover, my present state of mind is such that, till Sudras and *Antyajas* are permitted to wear it, I cannot but feel aversion to it. But, then, why should we thoughtlessly and without reason burden the Sudras and the *Antyajas* with the responsibility of wearing it? I do not see any good coming out of a public discussion of this subject at present. But we will think more about it when you are here.

I cannot say that your health has become really fine now. Personally, I don't see much difference between Sonegarh and Ahmedabad. About this, too, we will think together when you are here. Very much more than medicine, I believe that climate and finding out by experiment the right kind of diet help.

All of us were about to be drowned in the river today. We had a rehearsal too. But now only the comedy of it remains. How this happened is a long story, but someone or other is bound to write to you and tell it.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12264

386. LETTER TO BALWANTRAI PAREKH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Sunday, Sravana Vad 14, September 5, 1926

BHAISHRI BALWANTRAI,

I have your letter. I send herewith a *hundi*[1] for Rs. 300 for the work in Panch Talavada. Kindly send a receipt. And send an account every month to Fulchand, with a copy of the same to me.

SJT. BALWANTRAI GOKALDAS PAREKH
BHAVNAGAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12265

387. LETTER TO S. R. DESHPANDE

September 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

My heart goes out to you. In a case like yours God alone can help. Whether we believe in Him or not does not much matter even as ignorance of law does not save us from its sanctions. God is the supremest law.

I suggest to you that the purpose of our being is to know ourselves. The way to know oneself lies through service of all that lives. And we cannot serve humanity without sacrificing ourselves. Self-sacrifice is therefore the highest law for us.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. S. R. DESHPANDE
DONGRE MANSIONS
CHIKHALWADI
BOMBAY-7

From a copy: S.N. 19947

[1] Indigenous bill of exchange

388. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM

September 7, 1926

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

I am having your weekly gifts regularly. Many thanks.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3176

389. LETTER TO JUGAL KISHORE BIRLA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Sravana Amavasya [September 7, 1926][1]

BHAISHRI JUGAL KISHOREJI,

I have your letter. You must have read what I wrote about the Bible in *Young India*.[2] I think it should satisfy you. I have also glanced through what has appeared in *Vishwamitra*. I wish only to add that, if the children must learn about the Bible, it is better that they learn it through me. Learning it through me, they can learn but one thing, the quintessence of all religions, namely, *Ramanama*. If others made improper use of my writings or activities, that can do no harm either to me or to my principles. How can truth be misused? Any attempt to do so will have only the opposite effect. That is why truth is given the highest place in the Upanishads and other scriptures and has been described as God. If you are still not satisfied, please write to me again.

From a photostat of the Hindi: S.N. 12269

[1] & [2] Gandhiji's article "Crime of Reading Bible" appeared in *Young India*, 2-9-1926.

390. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Sravana Amavasya, September 7, 1926

BHAI RAJENDRABABU,

It is only today I could read the enclosed letter. I have also written to the student and asked him to see you.

BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD
CONGRESS OFFICE
MURADPORE
PATNA

From a photostat of the Hindi: S.N. 12272

391. LETTER TO LALJI NARANJI

SABARMATI,
Sravana Vad 0[1], *1982* [*September 7, 1926*]

SHRIYUT BHAISHRI LALJI NARANJI[2],

I have your letter. If there was any possibility of some useful purpose being served by my going there, I would not in the least hesitate to accept your invitation, for I would look upon the arrival of a deputation[3] from South Africa as an unusual event and would not regard my going to Bombay as a violation of my vow. I doubt, however, the propriety of my attending your function. The gentlemen who are arriving are shrewd men and of an independent temper. There can be no serious discussion of the South Africa problem at a reception[4]. The reception may possibly have some tangible effect on them, but from that point of view my presence at the function, I think, can serve no purpose at all.

[1] *Amavasya*, the new moon day

[2] Then President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay

[3] Parliamentary delegation of eight members sent by the Union Government of South Africa at the invitation of the Government of India. The delegation arrived in India on September 18, 1926 and returned to South Africa on October 13, 1926.

[4] The garden party by the addressee on September 19, 1926 at Bikaner House in Bombay

It is likely that they wish to see me. I will certainly find out whether they do. I know their leader[1] well, and therefore everything which should be done by me will be done. I don't think my going there will serve any particular purpose. I have come to this conclusion after an objective consideration of the matter. If, however, you or Sir Purushottamdas[2] have some special reason to consider my presence essential, I will certainly come.

My talk with Sir Henry Lawrence[3] did not relate to the deputation; it was about the commission on agriculture.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

BHAISHRI LALJI NARANJI
EWART HOUSE
TAMARIND LANE
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12267

392. LETTER TO REVASHANKER JHAVERI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Sravana Vadi 0, 1982 [September 7, 1926]

RESPECTED REVASHANKERBHAI,

I have your letter. Sheth Lalji Naranji also wrote to me directly, and I have replied[4] to him saying that my going to Bombay is likely to serve no useful purpose. If it is necessary for me to see them, the meeting will have to be specially fixed, and I will certainly take steps to have one arranged. If they wish to see me, I will arrange a meeting at any convenient place. I have, however, left the responsibility for the final decision to Lalji Sheth and Purushottamdas. If they think that I must go, I will go. It is advisable that no decision should be taken in a hurry.

Chi. Jamnadas had been feeling uneasy for the past many months, but I used to reassure him and persuade him to carry on. In the end, when I took no notice of his letters, he took

[1] F. W. Beyers, then Minister of Mines and Industries
[2] Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas
[3] Then Governor of Bombay
[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

prompt steps to carry out his decision. I sent for him, and he has been here. He gave three reasons for leaving:

(1) Self-assumed unworthiness as teacher;

(2) Throat trouble, which makes it difficult for him to speak;

(3) Lack of faith in spinning as *yajna*, though he unreservedly believes in khadi.

The last two reasons appear sufficient to me for letting him go. If he experiences difficulty in speaking, he certainly cannot teach; and if he does not appreciate the value of spinning in the spirit of service, he can have no influence on the pupils. I have now written to Nanabhai and asked him to visit Rajkot and inspect the school there—he is the head of this Dakshinamurti[1] and Vice-Chancellor of the Vidyapith. You need not resign from the Committee in a hurry. I will write more about this after discussing the matter with Nanabhai.

The more I see of Ratilal[2] the more I notice his straightforward nature and his simplicity. I have observed that it is Champa[3] who is extravagant. Just now they have both gone to Manilal Kothari's. Champa wishes to stay on there till the *Paryushana*[4] holidays. Ratilal has not yet decided what he will do.

I am writing to Doctor[5] about Jeki[6]. I will write to you again after I have his reply.

Ratilal has returned today.

Respectful greetings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1280

[1] An educational institution at Bhavnagar, in Saurashtra
[2] Ratilal Mehta
[3] Wife of Ratilal Mehta
[4] Holy days observed by the followers of Jainism
[5] Pranjivandas Mehta
[6] Daughter of Pranjivandas Mehta

393. LETTER TO N. H. BELGAUMWALA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Sravana Amas, September 7, 1926

BHAISHRI NAOROJI BELGAUMWALA,

I have your letter. I read the letter in the *Chronicle*. I don't believe at all that my coming out will do any good. I think I am doing real service by my silence. Sometimes an intelligent *vaid* simply lets a patient alone. I look upon myself as such a *vaid*. I know my patient, and so have left him alone. I will certainly like your offering the *Chronicle* to the highest bidder. But no one will buy it. The best thing is that you yourself should issue debentures and take it over.

SJT. N. H. BELGAUMWALA
237, FRERE ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12268

394. LETTER TO KALURAM BAJORIA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Sravana Amas, September 7, 1926

BHAISHRI KALURAM,

I have your letter. If you are firm in your decision not to marry again, if that is what your conscience tells you, you should categorically make it public. I have no doubt at all about this. The condition of the country certainly makes me unhappy, but sometimes even silence is a form of action. I am sure that my silence is.

SJT. KALURAM BAJORIA
C/o JIVRAJ RAMKRISHANDAS
No. 26/1, ARMENIAN STREET
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12270

395. LETTER TO NARSINHPRASAD BHATT

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Sravana Amas, September 7, 1926

BHAISHRI NANABHAI,

I send with this copy of a letter from Punjabhai. We have entrusted the arrangement about "Bhagvati Sutra" to the Puratattva Mandali, and we should—should we not?—accept the arrangement it makes. Something will certainly have to be done about this. Please do whatever is necessary.

SHRI NARSINHPRASAD BHATT
DAKSHINAMURTI
BHAVNAGAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12271

396. MESSAGE TO BHAVANIDAYAL

Tuesday [September 7, 1926][1]

The aim in running the Pravasi Bhavan is to start a library for immigrants. I hope that it will have books which meet their needs. Nowadays people keep all kinds of books, good and bad, in libraries. I trust that this library will have no bad books.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8654. Courtesy: Vishnudayal

[1] The addressee replied to the message on September 9. The preceding Tuesday was September 7.

397. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL KRISHNALAL MEHTA

[On or after *September 7, 1926*][1]

BHAISHRI JAISUKHLAL[2],

I have your letter. Now at last I have some peace. I have made no attempt at all to understand the currency problem.[3] I live from moment to moment, submit to the pressure of the moment and become engrossed in whatever it forces on me. For the time being I have escaped from the pressure of the currency problem.

I have written to Lalji Sheth about the deputation from South Africa and am awaiting his reply.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12240

398. ACTION IN INACTION[4]

[*September 8, 1926*]

Nothing would have pleased me better than to have responded to the public appeal[5] made by Dr. Syed Mahmood and other friends if it was at all possible or in my opinion advisable to do so. The signatories are mistaken in thinking that I have gone into retirement. I have imposed upon myself a year's abstention from all avoidable public engagements. The year is fast drawing to a close. The reasons for abstention were fully stated at the time. My health and the requirements of the Ashram necessitated rest

[1] The letter to Sheth Lalji Naranji, referred to in this letter, was written on September 7, 1926.

[2] Secretary of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay. He had an interview with Gandhiji on August 17, 1926 in connection with the report of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency.

[3] The report of the Commission was published in August 1926; an agitation was organized against its recommendation to fix the value of the rupee at 1s. 6d.

[4] Asked in an interview by the Associated Press at Ahmedabad on September 8, what was his reply to the open letter of Dr. Mahmud and others inviting him to resume public life and call a representative conference, Gandhiji referred to this article as his answer. The gist of it, according to the Associated Press report, was "that he was unable to respond to the appeal in the manner suggested by the signatories".

[5] *Vide* Appendix IV.

from toilsome travelling and taxing public engagements. If I have not interfered in the Council matters, it is because I have, perhaps, no aptitude for them—certainly, I have no faith in the Councils giving us swaraj. I have ceased to meddle in Hindu-Muslim quarrels because my meddling at this juncture, I am convinced, can only do harm. Then there remain untouchability, national educational institutions and the spinning-wheel. To these I am giving all the attention I am capable of giving.

Therefore, I venture to suggest to the friends that what to them appears to be my inaction is really concentrated action.

I do not in the least share their pessimism. The Hindu-Muslim quarrels are in a way, unknown to us, a fight for swaraj. Each party is conscious of its impending coming. Each wants to be found ready and fit for swaraj when it comes. Hindus think that they are physically weaker than the Mussalmans. The latter consider themselves to be weak in educational and earthly equipment. They are now doing what all weak bodies have done hitherto. This fighting therefore, however unfortunate it may be, is a sign of growth. It is like the Wars of the Roses. Out of it will rise a mighty nation. A better than the bloody way was opened out to us in 1920, but we could not assimilate it. But even a bloody way is better than utter helplessness and unmanliness.

Even the ugly duel between Motilalji and Lalaji is part of the same struggle. Let the enemies of India's freedom gloat over their differences. These patriots will be working under the same flag long before the gloating is over. They are both lovers of their country. Lalaji sees no escape from communalism. Panditji cannot brook even the thought of it. Who shall say that only one is right? Both attitudes are a response to the prevailing atmosphere. Lalaji who was born to public life with swaraj on his lips is no hater of it now. He proposes to mount to it through communalism which he considers to be an inevitable stage in our evolution. Panditji thinks that communalism blocks the way and he therefore proposes to ignore it even as auto-suggestionists ignore disease seeing that health, not 'illth', is the law of life. The nation can ill afford to do without Sir Abdur Rahim as without Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan. Sir Abdur Rahim, who wrote the weighty minute with Gokhale on the Islington Commission, is no enemy of his country. Who shall blame him if he thinks that the country cannot progress without the Mussalmans competing with the Hindus on equal terms? He may be wrong in his methods. But he is none-the-less a lover of freedom. Whilst, therefore, I can make room in my mind for all these various schools of thought, for me there is

only one way. I have no faith in communalism even as a stage, or perhaps, better still, I have no fitness for work on that stage. I must, therefore, hold myself in reserve till the storm is over and the work of rebuilding has commenced.

I can but watch from a safe distance the struggle that goes on in the Councils. I honour those who have faith in them for prosecuting the programme with zeal.

It is educated India which is split up into parties. I confess my incompetence to bring these parties together. Their method is not my method. I am trying to work from bottom upward. To an onlooker, it is exasperatingly slow work. They are working from top downward—a process more difficult and complicated than the former. The millions for whom the signatories have claimed to write are uninterested in the party complications which are above their heads.

For them there is only the spinning-wheel. To paraphrase a celebrated proverb the wheels of God spin slowly but most effectively. I am engaged in attending to these tiny wheels of God. Let the signatories and the others who care note that they are ceaselessly moving. Their efficiency is daily and visibly growing. And when the storm is blown over, the parties are united, Hindus, Mussalmans, Brahmins, non-Brahmins, the suppressors and the suppressed have joined hands, they will find that the country has been prepared by silent hands for effecting not a punitive and violent boycott, but a health-giving, non-violent, constructive boycott of foreign cloth. The nation must exhibit some universal strength and power, be they ever so little. That is this boycott of foreign cloth.

The signatories regard themselves as my followers. I invite them to follow the lead of the charkha. I have not ceased to lead that little, simple wheel which daily hums to me the distress of the masses. For better or for worse, I have staked my all on the charkha, for it represents to me *Daridranarayana*, God of and in the poor and in the downtrodden.

Young India, 9-9-1926

399. LETTER TO KRISHNAKANT MALAVIYA

Bhadra Shukla 1, 1982 [September 8, 1926]

I got your telegram. Here is my article.

There was an innocent girl. After listening to speeches by several speakers, she went to her mother and said: "Look, mother, what nonsense these mad folk are talking! I only wish to listen to the sweet music of my charkha. I don't want this madness." Listening to the speeches of our orators and reading what our newspapermen write, my plight is like this girl's.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

BHAI KRISHNAKANT MALAVIYA,
ABHYUDAYA PRESS, ALLAHABAD

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19949

400. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Bhadra Sud 1 [September 8, 1926][1]

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. The parcel will follow. You have sent quite a good quantity of grape-juice. Devdas has gone to Mussoorie and is there now. He must have got the parcel which you sent, for he says in his letter that he has received another parcel from you. I have been able to sell 72 pieces out of the stock with me. I have kept the articles to show them to people and have made no special effort to sell them. As you seem to be hard up for cash, I send a draft for Rs. 300; the sum is against the whole stock and does not represent the exact amount of the proceeds from the articles sold. If the costlier material lying with me cannot be sold, I will return it to you and ask you to send me material for the same amount which can be sold. I will not ask you to return its price. I will include the frocks in the list of the stock when they are received. You must have of course

[1] Reference in the letter to Devdas being in Mussoorie indicates that the letter was written in 1926.

included their price in your account. I am afraid the theft of Rs. 325 will be a further strain on your slender resources. It is vain to hope that the thief will be caught.

SHRI MITHUBEHN PETIT
PARK HOUSE
COLABA
BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 10607

401. LETTER TO THAKOREDAS SUKHADIA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Bhadra Sud 1, September 8, 1926

BHAISHRI THAKOREDAS,

I got your letter. I have no right at all to say that what you say is wrong. But, as your well-wisher, I should like to caution you. Two kinds of powers are working in every one of us—one visible and the other invisible. The latter is far stronger. It may be a holy power, but it can also be an evil power. Govardhanbhai[1] has graphically represented in *Sarasvatichandra* the working of these powers. The visible power working in Kumud[2] kept her attached to Pramaddhan[3] and the invisible power drew her to Sarasvatichandra[4]. All reverence to that person, the invisible power in whom is a holy power and controls the visible power. Who can see anything to blame in either of you if the two powers work in such harmony in you both? The only proper wish for a human being to cherish for the succeeding life is that one should merge into God. If that wish is fulfilled, one will be united with one's father, mother, brother, sister and all other dear ones.

P. THAKOREDAS SUKHADIA
KINARI BAZAR
SURAT

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12273

[1] 1855-1907; an eminent Gujarati writer whose epic novel, *Sarasvatichandra*, published in four parts between 1887 and 1901 tells the story of the birth of modern Gujarat

[2] Heroine of the novel

[3] Her husband

[4] To whom Kumud was first engaged. He left his parents' home and, when he remained untraced for a few months, Kumud was married to Pramaddhan.

402. LETTER TO PYARELAL NAYYAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Bhadra Sud 1 [September 8, 1926][1]

CHI. PYARELAL,

I got your long letter. I understand your dilemma. It had all along been my desire to see that there was no excess of anything. Even excess of hesitation may sometimes appear as a sign of incivility. Now that you have adopted a particular manner, I don't see any need for you to change it. If you try, that may even give a shock to Mathuradas[2]. You should, therefore, go on as at present. Write to me when you run short of money. I hope you got the khadi. I suppose that the article is ready now. See that you improve your health. Keep writing to me.

PYARELALJI
HOMI VILLA
PANCHGANI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12274

403. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL TEJPAL

Bhadra Sud 1, 1982, September 8, 1926

BHAISHRI CHHOTALAL TEJPAL,

I do not see any connection between the evil of untouchability and the question whether dead bodies should be carried on shoulders or in a cart. I do not wish to make a will to oblige people, after my death, to have my body carried in a cart, for I see a sort of egotism in the idea. Moreover, if they cremate my body on the Ashram premises, I would rather that they carried it on a few bamboo poles on shoulders or with hands. I don't feel that it is a matter of dharma to insist on dead bodies being carried

[1] The addressee stayed at Panchgani in 1926.
[2] Mathuradas Trikumji with whom the addressee stayed at Panchgani

in carts. I fully accept, however, the necessity and propriety of carrying them in that manner in certain circumstances.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19948

404. PLIGHT OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

One who knows what she is writing about says:

> Until our boys learn to conserve their vital forces India will never have the men she should have. For nearly 17 years I have had charge of boys' schools in India. It is appalling to see the number of boys—Hindu, Mahommedan and Christian—who begin school life full of energy and enthusiasm and hope and end it physical wrecks. In literally hundreds of cases, I have traced this directly to self-abuse, sodomy or early marriage. I have today the names of 42 boys guilty of sodomy and not a boy is over 13 years of age. Masters and house fathers will deny that these conditions exist but if the right tactics are used the trouble will be discovered and nearly always the boys will confess. A large per cent of the boys confess to having been taught by men—often their own relatives.

This is no fanciful picture. It is truth suppressed by many schoolmasters who know. I have known it before. It was first brought to my notice by a Delhi schoolmaster now nearly eight years ago. But I have kept silent, merely discussing with individuals the remedies. The mischief is not confined to India. But it comes upon India with deadlier effect because of the curse of child marriage. A public discussion of this very difficult and delicate subject has become necessary, because one sees in respectable newspapers the sexual passion discussed with a freedom that would not have been possible a few years back.

The fashion of regarding the sexual act as natural, necessary, moral and conducive to mental and physical health has accentuated the evil. The advocacy by the cultured men of the free use of contraceptives has created an atmosphere favouring the growth of the sexual microbe. The tender and receptive minds of youngsters draw the hasty deductions favouring and justifying their unlawful and destructive desires and the parents and the teachers exhibit a sad, almost criminal, indifference and tolerance in respect of the deadly vice. Short of complete purification of the social environment, nothing, in my opinion, will stop the evil.

The unconscious and subtle effect of an atmosphere charged with sexuality cannot but react upon the minds of the school-going youth of the country. The surroundings of the city life, the literature, the drama, the cinema, the household appointments, various social ceremonies do but to point one thing—the promotion of the sexual passion. It is impossible for little children already conscious of the beast within to resist the pressure exerted by these influences. Palliatives will not answer. The reformation must begin with the elders if they would discharge their trust by the younger generation.

Young India, 9-9-1926

405. 'TOWARDS MORAL BANKRUPTCY'

I have received many letters, both in English and vernacular, asking me to publish this series of articles in pamphlet form in all the three languages—English, Hindi and Gujarati. I am aware that a dozen letters may only represent the individual writers and there may be no real demand for the pamphlets. These are not propitious times for venturing on new publications. But a friend has come to the rescue and guaranteed all loss. The pamphlets will, therefore, be shortly published. If the correspondents who offered to contribute towards the cost of publication still retain the desire to contribute, they will please forward their donations. If those who want copies will register their names at the *Young India* office beforehand, it will help the manager to fix the number of copies to be printed.

Young India, 9-9-1926

406. NOTES

CONGRESS PRESIDENTSHIP

Sjt. Shrinivas Iyengar's election as President of the forthcoming Congress was a foregone conclusion. The Congress Committees were bound to elect an avowed Swarajist. If Sjt. Shrinivas Iyengar is a fighter, he is also an idealist. He is impatient and his impatient zeal often takes him into waters too deep for ordinary men. He plunges without giving a second thought. He comes upon the responsible office at a time of unexampled difficulty. But Sjt. Iyengar has faith in himself and his cause. Gods have been known to help those who believe in themselves. Let us hope that they will not prove false in this case. Sjt. Iyengar will need all the help that Congressmen can give him. We have learnt the art of giving passive loyalty. But time has come when we must learn to give active loyalty. Difficult as his task is, it would be quite easy if Congressmen will carry out policies and resolutions to which they themselves become party. This is the least that is expected of members of any organization that is to make any progress. I tender Sjt. Iyengar my congratulations for the high honour that has been conferred upon him, and I tender my sympathy for the extraordinary difficulties that face him and pray that God will give him the strength and wisdom to overcome them.

WORTHY OF EXAMPLE

Sjt. Haribhau Phatak sending to the Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association, yarn contributions says:

> I am sending today Shrimati Annapurnabai Gore's yarn 25,000 yds. In Maharashtra many women undertake observances during the monsoon season. Annapurnabai has vowed to spin and present 1,00,000 yards of yarn during the season. The accompanying is the first month's contribution. My friend Shridharpant Shastri is her husband and both are members of the A.I.S.A. They have already sent their full quota. They are a busy family. They have children and they are poor. With all that they have bad eyes. This effort therefore on their part is well worth noting.

And so the effort undoubtedly is. It is not possible without love of one's kind; and it is love of the poor, love of God, love of 'the country' that is behind the charkha movement.

The Double Distilled Poison

The curse of untouchability has permeated even the 'untouchables'. And so we have grades of untouchability amongst them, the higher grade refusing contact with the lower. A Thiyya friend writes from Calicut:

> We Thiyyas, a supposed low-caste people, but in education and social status much improved, and almost equal to any other community in Malabar, have a temple here in Calicut. A meeting was arranged to consider the question of giving entry to our *Panchama* brothers on the birthday of our great Guru, Sri Sri Narayana Guru. This was opposed by a large majority and there was much hooliganism to give trouble to the supporters. We voted for the entry of the *Panchama* brethren, but we were in a minority. We have therefore boycotted the temple and we go and worship at another temple where no such distinction is observed. We are determined to fight this battle to a finish..

I tender my congratulations to the small band of reformers. It was a right thing for them to refuse to use a privilege that was denied to the *Panchamas.* Those who claim justice must come with clean hands. The Thiyyas may not set up against others a barrier which they would break down when erected against themselves. That was the lesson Vykôm taught. It must on no account be forgotten. Let the reformers then pursue their battle, in the true satyagraha spirit, without anger and with quiet determination, and they will soon turn the minority into a majority. Time and tide are with them.

A Tissue of Misrepresentations

If most newspapers in the world were to cease publication, the world will not lose anything. Probably, it will heave a sigh of relief. The newspapers generally give not facts but fiction. This reflection arises from my having read a so-called interview with me published in the *Messenger of America.* It is the official organ of the American Philosophical Society. Why even a philosophical society's organ should give currency to fiction in the name of fact is more than I can understand.

I should not have noticed this 'interview' but for the distortion it contains about my views of Theosophy.

I must, therefore pass by the fiction that "I was spinning on an old-fashioned loom," or that "there were mango trees outside my room," or the worse fiction that "it is through sympathy and understanding of America and the other great nations that we Indians gain the moral force to make our sacrifices."

I must hasten to the Theosophical fictions. Among other things I am reported to have said is that "I am not in sympathy with the Theosophical Movement," that "I am still a Theosophist but I am not in sympathy with the movement." This is just the opposite of what I could have said. For I am not and have never been a member of any Theosophical Society, but I am and have ever been in sympathy with its message of universal brotherhood and consequent toleration. I owe much to Theosophical friends of whom I have many. Whatever critics may say against Madame Blavatsky or Col. Olcott or Dr. Besant, their contribution to humanity will always rank high. What has been a bar to my joining the society, as the interview somewhat correctly puts, is its secret side—its occultism. It has never appealed to me. I long to belong to the masses. Any secrecy hinders the real spirit of democracy. But I recognize that there are two sides at least to every question. And there may be much to be said in favour of occultism in religion. Hinduism is certainly not free from it. But I am not called upon to subscribe to it.

I repeat the request I have often made to interviewers that, if they must interview me or report anything about me, they will do me a favour and serve truth if they will submit to me for correction and verification all they wish to report as having been said by me.

Young India, 9-9-1926

407. DEFENDING CHILD MARRIAGE

A reader of *Young India* writes:

> I am very much pained to read the following sentence in your article, "Curse of Child Marriage", published in the *Young India* of the 26th August 1926: "Only a man innocent of self-restraint and steeped in vice could call it a sin not to marry a girl before she reached the age of monthly periods."
>
> I fail to understand why you could not take a charitable view of those whose opinion differs from you. One can certainly say that the Hindu law-giver was entirely wrong in prescribing child marriage. But I think it improper to say that those who insist on child marriage are "steeped in vice". It seems to go beyond the limits of politeness in controversy. In fact this is the first time that I heard such an argument against child marriage. Neither the Hindu social reformers nor the Christian missionaries ever said so, so far as I am aware. Imagine

therefore the shock which I received when I found this argument in the writing of Mahatma Gandhi whom I believed to be perfection itself, so far at least as charity towards opponents is concerned.

You have condemned not one or two but probably every one of the Hindu law-givers. For, so far as I know, every *smritikara* enjoins early marriage of girls. It is impossible to hold as you have suggested that the passages enjoining early marriage are interpolations. The practice of early marriage is not confined to any province or class of society, but is practically a universal custom in India. It is also a very old practice dating from the time of the *Ramayana*.

I shall try to give briefly what I consider might have been the reasons why the Hindu law-givers insisted upon early marriage of girls. They considered it very desirable that every girl should have a husband as a rule. This is necessary no less for the peace of mind and happiness of the girls themselves than for the welfare of society in general. If every girl has to be provided with a husband, the choice of husband should be made by the parents of the girl and not by the girls themselves. If the choice is left to the girls themselves, it will result in many girls not being married at all, not because they do not like marriage, but because it is very difficult for all girls to find out suitable husbands. It is also dangerous, for it might lead to flirtation and might cause looseness of morals. Youths who appear to be good might ruin the virtue of simple girls. Again, if the choice is to be made by parents, the girls must be married young. When they are grown up, they may fall in love and may not like to marry the bridegroom selected by the parents. When a girl is married young, she becomes one with her husband and his family. The union is more natural and more perfect. It is sometimes difficult for grown-up girls with fixed ideas and habits to adapt themselves in a new home.

The chief objection to early marriage is that it weakens the health of the girl and her children. But this objection is not very convincing for the following reasons. The age of marriage is now rising among the Hindus, but the race is becoming weaker. Fifty or a hundred years ago the men and women were generally stronger, healthier and more long-lived than now. But early marriage was then more in vogue. The physique of educated girls who are married late is not generally better than the girls who receive less education and are married early. From these facts it appears probable that early marriage does not cause as much physical deterioration as some people believe.

You have good knowledge of both European society and Indian society. You will be able to say whether on the whole Indian wives are more devoted to their husbands than European wives; whether among the poor people the Indian husbands treat their wives more kindly than

European husbands; whether there are fewer cases of unhappy marriages among Indians than among Europeans; whether sexual morality is higher in Indian society than in European society. If in these respects Indian marriages are more successful than European marriages, then early marriage which is an essential feature of Indian marriages should not be condemned.

I cannot believe that the Hindu law-givers were actuated by any consideration except the true welfare of society in general (including both men and women) in laying down the injunction of early marriage of girls. I believe that early marriage of girls is one of the features of Hindu society which have maintained its purity and prevented its disruption in spite of very hostile environments. You may not believe all this. But may we not expect that you should discard your idea that all the great Hindu law-givers who have insisted on early marriage of girls were innocent of self-restraint and were "steeped in vice"?

The Madras case reported by you seems to be very peculiar. The jury held that the girl committed suicide. But the girl said that her husband set fire to her clothes. In these conflicting circumstances, it is very difficult to hold that the facts which you consider to be indisputable are really so. There have been millions of cases of girl-wives below 13. Not one case of suicide due to cruel advances of the husband has been heard before. Probably there were peculiar features in the Madras case and early marriage was not the principal cause of the death.

Well does the poet say: "It costs very little to fashion a suitable philosophy in order to mitigate the rudeness of facts that secretly hurt one's conscience." This reader of *Young India* has gone a step further. He has not only fashioned a suitable philosophy but ignored facts and erected his argument on unsupported statements.

The charge of want of charity I must pass by, if only because I have not accused the law-givers, but I have ventured to impute vice to those who could insist on marriage at an age too tender for bearing the burden of motherhood. Want of charity comes into being only when you accuse a live person—not an imaginary being, and that too without cause—of impure motives. But is there any warrant for the writer saying that the original authors of the several *smritis* who preached self-restraint wrote the verses enjoining marriage of little girls? Is it not more charitable to assume that the *rishis* could not be guilty of impurity or gross ignorance of cardinal facts concerning the growth of the human body?

But even if the texts ordering child, as opposed to early (for early marriage means marriage well before 25), marriage be found to be authoritative, we must reject them in the light of positive experience and scientific knowledge. I question the accuracy of the statement that child marriage is universal in Hindu society. I should be sorry to find that 'millions of girls' are married, i.e., live as wives whilst they are yet children. The Hindus would have died as a race long ago, if 'millions of girls' had their marriages consummated at, say, the age of eleven.

Nor does it follow that, if the parents are to continue to make the choice of husbands for their daughters, the marriage must be contracted and consummated early. It is still less true to maintain that if girls have to make their choice, there must be courtship and flirtation. After all, courtship is not universal in Europe and thousands of Hindu girls are married after fifteen and yet have their husbands selected by their parents. Mussalman parents invariably select husbands for their grown-up daughters. Whether the choice is to be made by girls or their parents is a separate question and is regulated by custom.

The correspondent has tendered no proof to support the statement that children of grown-up wives are weaker than those of child wives. In spite of my experience of both Indian and European society, I must refuse to enter into a comparison of their morals. Granting, however, for the sake of argument that morals of European society are lower than those of Hindu society, will it naturally follow that the lowness is due to the marriages taking place after full maturity?

Lastly, the Madras case does not help the correspondent, but his use of it betrays his hasty judgment based upon a total disregard of facts. If he will refer to the article again he will discover that I have drawn my conclusion from proved facts. My conclusion is unaffected by the cause of death. It was proved (1) that the girl was of tender age; (2) that she had no sexual desire; (3) that the 'husband' made cruel advances; (4) that she is no more. It was bad enough if the girl committed suicide, it was worse if the husband murdered her because she could not yield to his inhuman lust. The girl was fit only to learn and play, not to play the wife and carry on her tiny shoulders the weight of household cares or the yoke of a lord and master.

My correspondent is a man occupying a high position in society. The nation expects better things from those of her sons and daughters who have received a liberal education and who are expected to think and act in her behalf. We have many abuses

in our midst—moral, social, economic and political. They require patient study, diligent research, delicate handling, accuracy of statement and clear thinking on them, and sober, impartial judgment. We may then differ, if necessary, as poles asunder. But we shall surely harm the country, our respective religions and the national cause, if we do not toil to discover the truth and adhere to it, cost what it may.

Young India, 9-9-1926

408. DIGNITY OF LABOUR

We meet every day young men, graduates of our universities, hawking their degrees. They ask for the recommendation of a man who has no education but commands wealth, and in nine cases out of ten, the rich man's recommendation carries greater weight with the officials than the university degree. What does this prove? It proves that money is valued more than intellectual culture. Brain is at a high discount. Why is this so? Because brain has failed to earn money. This failure is due to want of occupation in which intellectual equipment is in demand. Brain which is the most valuable and most powerful force in human society is a waste product for want of a market.

The peasant's assets are his hands. The zamindar's assets are his lands. Culture of land is agriculture. Culture of hand is industry. I am aware that agriculture has been called an industry, but differentiation on the basis of their essentials should not place agriculture in the category of industries. A branch of manual labour which affords facilities for a progressive culture of the hand securing higher wages at successive stages should be properly called industry. This is not the case with the hand working on land. The man who drives a plough, sows seeds or weeds the fields will not earn higher wages by the culture of the hand. There is no scope for attainment of a more remunerative skill in the agriculturist's occupation. Now take the case of a carpenter; he begins by making packing-cases. By culture he may learn to make a tantalus. Mark the progress in the manual skill resulting in a corresponding rise in the daily wages of the man. Let me assure you that the man who made the tantalus with two snakes with their expanded hoods guarding the bottles was first taken into my service for making packing cases. His initial wages were 6 annas a day and in two years' time he was earning one rupee a day and the market value of his handi-work left at least 4 annas a day to his employer. This gives a rise in wages from Rs. 133 to 365 in two years. . . . Over 98 per cent of the population work on land. Land does not grow in

area. Hands grow in number with the growth of the population. A holding which sustained a family of 5 members 30 years back now has to support 12 to 15 members. In some cases this extra pressure is relieved by emigration but in most cases a low standard of vitality is accepted as inevitable.

The foregoing is an extract from Sjt. M. S. Das's speech delivered to the Bihar Young Men's Institute in 1924. I have kept that speech by me so as to be able to deal with the essential part of it on a suitable occasion. There is nothing new in what the speaker has said. But the value of his remarks is derived from the fact that, though a lawyer of distinction, he has not only not despised labour with the hands, but actually learnt handicrafts at a late period in life, not merely as a hobby, but for the sake of teaching young men dignity of labour, and showing that without their turning their attention to the industries of the country the outlook for India is poor. Sjt. Das has himself been instrumental in establishing a tannery at Cuttack which has been a centre of training for many a young man who was before a mere unskilled labourer. But the greatest industry which requires the intelligence of millions of hands is no doubt hand-spinning. What is needed is to give the vast agricultural population of this country an added and an intelligent occupation which will train both their brains and hands. It is the finest and cheapest education that can be devised for them. Cheapest because it is immediately remunerative. And if we want universal education in India, the primary education consists not in a knowledge of the three R's but in a knowledge of hand-spinning and all it implies. And when through it the hand and the eye are properly trained, the boy or the girl is ready to receive instruction in the three R's. This I know would appear to some to be utterly absurd and to others to be totally unworkable. But those who so think do not know the condition of the millions. Nor do they know what it means to educate the millions of children of Indian peasantry. And this much-needed education cannot be given unless educated India which is responsible for the political awakening in the country will appreciate the dignity of labour and unless every young man would consider it his imperative duty to learn the art of hand-spinning and then re-introduce it in the villages.

Young India, 9-9-1926

409. OUT OF THE FRYING-PAN

The report on the condition of returned emigrants stranded in Calcutta submitted to the Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association makes painful reading. It appears that there are over 2,000 returned emigrants in Calcutta living in squalid surroundings. They are from Fiji, Trinidad, Surinam and British Guiana. "The desire to visit their motherland and the rumour that India had obtained self-government were the two chief reasons which led them to leave their birth-place." But they find that their own people in their villages will not have them and so they want to go back to the place where they have come from. " 'Anywhere out of India' is their cry". Meantime they are eking out a miserable existence in Calcutta. "They all looked famished. Their lot is the lowest ebb of human misery." The fact that the majority of these men are Colonial-born aggravates their misery. The reader will not appreciate the full meaning of being 'Colonial-born'. These men are neither Indian nor Colonial. They have no Indian culture in the foreign lands they go to, save what they pick up from their uncultured half-dis-Indianized parents. They are not Colonial in that they are debarred access to the Colonial, i.e., Western, culture. They are therefore out of the frying-pan into fire. There at least they had some money and a kind of a home. Here they are social lepers, not even knowing the language of the people.

Therefore, the report suggests that it is the clear duty of the Government to send them back to the most suitable Colony that would receive them. The tropical Colonies must be glad to have them in preference to raw recruits who have to be initiated. The duty is clearly the Government's. For they alone can carry on negotiations with the various Colonies. This duty should have been discharged long ago. The Imperial Citizenship Association has made the following appeal to the Government:

> With reference to returned Indian emigrants from Fiji, British Guiana, Trinidad and other Colonies now stranded in Calcutta, the Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, through a representative specially sent from here for the purpose, has made investigations on the spot, and in the light of those investigations, I have the honour to submit the following recommendations for the immediate consideration of the Government of India:

> 1. The Government of Fiji should be requested to extend the duration of the moratorium for free passages to freed indentured labourers from 1930 to 1935.
>
> 2. The returned Indian emigrants from British Guiana of whom there are several hundreds now in Calcutta and elsewhere and who are anxious to go back should be included in the Government of India's scheme of emigration of 500 families to British Guiana.
>
> 3. The Government of India should, without further delay, establish Emigrants' Depots in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. These Depots should be organized on the basis of the Indian Emigrants' Friendly Society which was established in Calcutta in 1921 and was dissolved in 1923. This Society looked after the interests of emigrants in every way and was managed by a local committee of both officials and non-officials and was very largely financed by the Government of India.
>
> In view of the fact that another boat with several hundreds of emigrants is expected in Calcutta next month, my Council hopes that the Government of India will realize the gravity of the situation and act in a manner which will not only relieve the distress now prevalent but also effectively prevent further congestion and suffering.

For the time being, it will be enough if the stranded men get the relief asked for.

But the innocent-looking appeal raises broad and fundamental questions which must not be discussed in this brief notice of the special circumstances brought to light by the report. They must not be allowed to confuse the one clear issue which awaits immediate treatment. The broad questions however are:

1. The whole of the emigration policy.
2. The special case of British Guiana and Fiji.
3. The scope of the friendly societies referred to in the appeal.
4. The duty of the nation by the outgoing and returning emigrants.

The consideration of these questions requires a more favourable occasion and a more thorough treatment than can be given them at the present moment.

Young India, 9-9-1926

410. *LETTER TO REGISTRAR, BOMBAY UNIVERSITY*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 9, 1926

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter No. 8539 of 1926 dated 6th September 1926 intimating that the Syndicate has appointed me as one of the judges for the examination of the Ashburner Prize essay for the year 1926. Apart from anything else, I regret to inform you that I have not a single moment to spare between now and October for examining the essay in question with the care and attention I would like to give it. I would, therefore, ask you kindly to remove my name from the list of judges.

Yours faithfully,

THE REGISTRAR
BOMBAY UNIVERSITY
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 10991-a

411. *LETTER TO A. T. GIDWANI*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 9, 1926

MY DEAR GIDWANI,

I have your letter. Mr. Basu shall be suitably received on his arrival. He has given me no intimation as yet.

I have forgotten all about Jugal Kishore. My apologies to him. I think it is quite possible to take him in if he does not restrict me to anything in particular. That is to say, does he believe in khadi? And will he be prepared to work in the Khadi Department? What would be his requirements? Is he married?

Yours sincerely,

ACHARYA A. T. GIDWANI
PREM MAHA VIDYALAYA
BRINDABAN

From a microfilm: S.N. 11274

412. LETTER TO JOSEPH BAPTISTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 9, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of 6th September.[1] I do not think there is sufficient sincerity in the atmosphere to warrant a day for public prayer in connection with Hindu-Muslim tension. The prayer must proceed from the heart. There must be a sincere desire for reconciliation. I think the more becoming thing is for each one of us to pray in his own closet.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

JOSEPH BAPTISTA, ESQ.
MATHAPPACADY
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 12380

413. LETTER TO S. D. DEV

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 9, 1926

MY DEAR DEV,

I have your letter of the 5th instant. About Ahmednagar, my message was wanted and I have sent it.

For Pandharpur, don't you know my vow not to accept any public engagements before the 20th December? The exception is confined only to absolutely unexpected events. You should, therefore, secure Jamnalalji or Rajagopalachari or Gangadharrao Deshpande or you can also get Pandit Motilalji and several others one could think of. Any appeal next year made to me

[1] Baptista had written that for promoting "peace and goodwill on a national scale" among the different communities in India, one day—say, the first Sunday in November—should be set aside as a day of prayer, etc.

will not go in vain. This year, as you see, it is absolutely impossible.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. D. DEV
KHADI EXHIBITION
AHMEDNAGAR

From a photostat: S.N. 19681

414. LETTER TO DEV RAJ

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 9, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is not possible to give you specific advice without actually seeing you. But generally, the following instructions may be followed:

Live and sleep in the open air. Take the simplest food without condiments always leaving a margin at the end of each meal. Do not eat after sunset. Avoid salt. Take plenty of fresh fruit and to every portion of milk add a little water. Do not boil the milk thick. Take gentle breathing exercises. Have some bodily work every day and if possible . . .[1] in solitude if you can bear solitude. And cultivate the companionship of good chaste people and read clean literature.

Yours sincerely,

DEV RAJ, ESQ.
WAGON MOVEMENT EXPERIMENT
D. S. OFFICE
KARACHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 19682

[1] Some words are missing in the source.

415. LETTER TO BECHAR BHANJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Thursday, Bhadra Sud 2, September 9, 1926

BHAISHRI BECHAR BHANJI,

I have your letter. I see nothing wrong in the eight things in which you say you believe. If they are living convictions in your heart, you will certainly save yourself from all mental weaknesses and cravings. If one's belief is sincere and held with faith, one should strive hard, practise *tapascharya* and mortify the body to see that it sinks ever deeper into the heart; success is assured then.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

BECHAR BHANJI, TEACHER
Via KUNDALA
AT AMBA
KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5573; also S.N. 12275

416. LETTER TO BHIKHAIJI PALAMKOT

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Thursday, Bhadra Sud 2, September 9, 1926

DEAR SISTER,

You are older than I am, but your handwriting and your aspirations would certainly do credit to a young woman. I can, therefore, understand the description of yourself which you give. What you say of your ancestors is certainly remarkable, and does honour to them, to you and to the country. I would have felt happier still if you had been able to serve the cause of Indian music, though of course one should feel happy if anyone teaches even a Western art which helps his or her spiritual development. This is so in your case. I wish you success in your venture, such as will be worthy of the reputation which you enjoy. That is the

least you deserve. When I happen to be in Bombay, do favour me with a visit.

SHRIMATI BHIKHAIJI PALAMKOT
61, CAMBALA HILL
MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY-6

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12276

417. LETTER TO G. N. KANITKAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 10, 1926

MY DEAR KANITKAR,

I have your letter and the registered parcel. Please do not register parcels any more. I have so arranged that the magazines are handed to me as soon as they arrive. We must save every pice we can.

I note what you say about advertisements. What you have done is quite satisfactory.

Do not ask me to write anything about the Brahmin and non-Brahmin question just now. No harm will be done by my refraining, for the time being.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. G. N. KANITKAR
341, SADASHIV PETH
POONA CITY

From the original: C.W. 959. Courtesy: Gajanan Kanitkar

418. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 10, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I do not know what to say now or how to comfort you. I can only pray for your peace. Do not on any account damage your health by putting an undue strain upon your body or nerves. Why should Anil be getting fever every day? Why should you not be quite allright? It was a matter of grief to me that Hemaprabha Devi could not find the Ashram atmosphere congenial to her spirit. If only she could have stayed here with the children, it would have been much better and you would have been freer. I know that she can look after you as no one else can. But all husbands have to get over that helplessness. Hindu wives are in this respect in a much better and stronger position because they will not have themselves to be looked after by anybody.

Yours,
BAPU

SJT. SATIS CH. DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 1561

419. *LETTER TO MAHARAJA OF NABHA*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 10, 1926

DEAR MAHARAJA SAHEB,

I have a copy of your letter[1] written to me on the 20th September last year together with your letter to my son. I quite recollect having received your letter. My impression is that I

[1] In this the Maharaja complained that Gandhiji had not taken the trouble of even acknowledging his petition (S.N. 10989).

told Maulana Mahomed Ali that it would be impossible for the Congress to take any effective steps in your case. And having done so, it is likely that I wrote nothing to you. But, if I did not, it was not due to want of attention or courtesy. Hardly a letter comes to me which remains unacknowledged.

Distance lends enchantment to the scene. But let me assure you that a President of the Congress is not 'uncrowned' king of India. He wields no power. He has no strength such as you imagine. I know I had none. If I had thought that it was possible for me to render any help whatsoever to you, I should have done so without the slightest hesitation. But I had none then, I have none now.

I may inform you that I read the papers regarding your case and discussed it with several Sikh friends long before you wrote to me, and I told them that it was not possible even for the Sikhs to help you, and that any attempt made by them would but injure your cause and their own movement.[1] I am still of opinion that the mixing up of your case with the Gurdwara movement was a serious blunder. And this opinion, I gave even whilst I was in my sick-bed at Sassoon Hospital when a deputation from Sikh friends came and waited upon me.[2]

Yours sincerely,

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA SAHEB OF NABHA
"SNOWDON"
MUSSOORIE W.

From a photostat: S.N. 10994

420. LETTER TO S. S. MUTGI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 10, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have not studied the question of influence of planets and stars upon mankind and therefore I am unable to answer your first question.

When a person is under the influence of his or her passions, she or he must seek solitude, observe perfect silence and re-

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXIV.

[2] The letter bears a note on top by a secretary reading: "As some corrections were made after your letter was posted, I send you herewith a corrected copy."

frain from all activities till the passions are subsided and in order to avoid activity, complete fasting is advisable while the tremor of the passion continues.

The only scientific method of studying religious books is to study a little at a time and proceed after due assimilation, never accepting . . . as God's word anything that is repugnant to one's moral sense.

It is not possible to lay down any hard and fast rules about hours of study. For some a few minutes suffice. For others a few hours are enough. Each one must find out for himself how much he can read and digest. Merely stuffing of the brain with facts or arguments or assertions is perfectly useless.

Yours sincerely,

S. S. MUTGI
NEW BAZAR
BIJAPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 19684

421. LETTER TO R. SURYANARAYAN ROW

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 10, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter with papers regarding your scheme for Depressed Classes. It is a matter of exceeding regret to me that I cannot help you in it for the simple reason that you are partly Government-aided. I can understand and appreciate your work. I must not be mixed up in it. The friends who give me pecuniary help do so on the strength of my being totally independent of Government organizations. Mine is therefore a restricted activity and restricted class of donors. I cannot very well approach with regard to the scheme, however laudable it may be in itself, if it is under Government patronage.

I did get the pamphlets you sent to me some time ago. I have not yet overtaken them.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. SURYANARAYAN ROW
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
CALICUT

From a microfilm: S.N. 19686

422. *LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 10, 1926

MY DEAR BIG BROTHER,

I have your letter. I have neither been able to follow nor to understand all the ramifications of the Hedjaz trouble. But on the strength of my belief that for godfearing people joy comes out of troubles, I have assumed that in the end all will be well.

I note what you say about your appeal on behalf of the khaddar movement. But I am not going to be satisfied until your promise is redeemed.

You will give me due notice before you come so that I may be ready with curds and other necessaries for the Derwish.

Yours sincerely,

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI
CENTRAL KHILAFAT COMMITTEE
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 19687

423. *LETTER TO V. N. APTE*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 10, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I understand your suggestions. The motive behind the publication of the statistics is merely to give a rough idea of the khadi work that is being done. Some of the information which you suggest is really unavailable. For instance, it is not possible to know with any degree of accuracy the output [of] carders per hour, much less of yarn spun by professional spinners. The average earned by them is obtained from books in our possession. The output per hour can only be obtained from the spinners who in the vast majority of cases have no time-sense and who spin during all the odd minutes that they spare. The statistics obtained therefore

are about as much as it was possible to get. But as time goes by, greater and greater accuracy and fuller detail will be obtained.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V. N. APTE
KHADI KARYALAYA
MALPUR DONDAIGHE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19688

424. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday, Bhadra Sud 3, September 10, 1926

BHAISHRI KAKA,

Your letter to Swami about your health did not alarm me, but your letter to me did. I will certainly have a talk with Swami; but, as they say, too many midwives attending on a woman in labour make the delivery more difficult, and so I am of the view that when one friend is guiding a person with great love and intelligently, others may express an opinion if they feel inclined to and leave the matter there. I believe that for many reasons the right of advising you in regard to your health belongs chiefly to Swami. He is, moreover, an intelligent person and, therefore, I don't feel anxious either. There may be differences of opinion in certain matters and I make a suggestion in passing, but don't press my view. There is hardly any science as imperfect as the science of medicine, and, in a matter in which we are guided mostly by inferences, to press one's view on a man who is following a certain line, and thereby create doubt in his mind, will be like spoiling the mendicant's chances for both things, as the saying goes. I am not particularly enamoured of Mussoorie. We are poor people and I, therefore, do believe that we should draw the line somewhere. As to where and when to draw it, there can be of course no fixed rule which can be applied to everyone. All of us here will discuss with Swami what should be done in your case, and finally abide by his decision. There is biting cold in the air here these days. The sky is all the time overcast with clouds and the river is full to the banks.

Tanasukha's letter had no effect on me. The ideas expressed in it are immature. But then, children ought to have the free-

dom to think even such thoughts. Some of these errors are such as they themselves see and correct in the course of time.

KAKASAHEB KALELKAR
SWAVALAMBAN PATHSHALA
CHINCHWAD
(DIST. POONA)

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12277

425. *LETTER TO PARAMANAND SAMUELS LALL*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the book called *Ever Increasing Faith* for both of which I thank you. I receive so many gifts from so many good friends both known and unknown to me, that it becomes impossible to do justice to them. I have not a minute to spare to read the literature which is being sent to me. Heaven only knows when I can reach the book you have sent me. And my difficulty is that I have not the desire which I used to have for reading. The desire is to think, to pray and to act according to the light that God gives me. The experiences of others, valuable though they are, cannot avail me at the present moment for, as I fancy, God has cut out my work and has left me no choice but to do the work.

Yours sincerely,

PARAMANAND SAMUELS LALL, ESQ.
7, PANJMAHAL ROAD
LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19689

426. LETTER TO LALA LAJPAT RAI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 11, 1926

DEAR LALAJI,

I see you have remembered me in your wanderings for you have sent me the little pocket edition of the *Gita* and the four other jewels. I thank you for the thought that has prompted the gift as also the choice. Whatever journeys you may undertake on the political highway, I hope that you will keep a green corner for the poor man and his khadi, remember his perpetual knocks at the door. I expect you to keep it open for him always.

I hope you have benefited in health by the change.

Yours sincerely,

LALA LAJPAT RAI

From a photostat: S.N. 19690

427. LETTER TO BANARASIDAS CHATURVEDI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Saturday, Bhadra Sud 4 [September 11, 1926][1]

BHAI BANARASIDASJI,

Here is my message.

I am much pained to hear that Indians in Fiji are sunk deep in the drink-evil. May God save them from it!

Yours,
MOHANDAS

SHRI BANARASIDAS CHATURVEDI
FEROZABAD (U.P.)

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2565

[1] From the postmark

428. LETTER TO NANABHAI BHATT

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Saturday, Bhadra Sud 4, September 11, 1926

BHAI NANABHAI,

I got your letter and the three invitations. I have read the latter, and return them with this. I am sure there can be nothing to criticize in the reply which you have sent and so I will not waste your time and mine by so much as commenting on them. You have acted correctly in regard to Narahari. I have still to receive from you acknowledgment of the letter with which a copy of Punjabhai's letter was sent to you. I am sure you got that letter. If you had your whole toe amputated, you certainly ran a great risk. I had merely understood you to mean that you had gone in for a minor incision on it. I hope you are all right now and can walk and move about.

SHRI NANABHAI
DAKSHINAMURTI
BHAVNAGAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12278

429. SATYAGRAHA—TRUE AND FALSE

[*September 12, 1926*][1]

There are many forms of satyagraha, of which fasting may or may not be one, according to the circumstances of the case. A friend has put the following poser:

> A man wants to recover money another owes him. He cannot do so by going to law as he is a non-co-operator, and the debtor in the intoxication of the power of his wealth pays him no heed, and refuses even to accept arbitration. If in these circumstances, the creditor sits *dharna* at the debtor's door, would it not be satyagraha? The fasting creditor seeks to injure no one by his fasting. Ever since the golden age

[1] The original, in Gujarati, appeared in *Navajivan*, 12-9-1926. The English translation is by Mahadev Desai.

of Rama, we have been following this method. But I am told you regard this as intimidation. If you do, will you kindly explain?

I know the correspondent. He has written from the purest motive. But I have no doubt that he is mistaken in his interpretation of satyagraha. Satyagraha can never be resorted to for personal gain. If fasting with a view to recovering money is to be encouraged, there would be no end of scoundrels blackmailing people by resorting to the means. I know that many such people are to be met with in the country. It is not right to argue that those who rightly resort to fasting need not be condemned because it is abused in a few cases. Any and everyone may not draw his own distinction between fasting—satyagraha—true and false. What one regards as true satyagraha may very likely be otherwise. Satyagraha, therefore, cannot be resorted to for personal gain, but only for the good of others. A satyagrahi should always be ready to undergo suffering and pecuniary loss. That there would not be wanting dishonest people to reap an undue advantage from the boycott of law-courts practised by good people was a contingency not unexpected at the inception of non-co-operation. It was then thought that the beauty of non-co-operation lay just in taking those risks.

But satyagraha in the form of fasting cannot be undertaken as against an opponent. Fasting can be resorted to only against one's nearest and dearest, and that solely for his or her good.

In a country like India, where the spirit of charity or pity is not lacking, it would be nothing short of an outrage to resort to fasting for recovering money. I know people who have given away money, quite against their will, but out of a false sense of pity. The satyagrahi has, therefore, to proceed warily in a land like ours. It is likely that some men may succeed in recovering money due to them by resorting to fasting; but instead of calling it a triumph of satyagraha, I would call it a triumph of *duragraha* or violence. The triumph of satyagraha consists in meeting death in the insistence on truth. A satyagrahi is always unattached to the attainment of the object of satyagraha; one seeking to recover money cannot be so unattached. I am therefore clear that fasting for the sake of personal gain is nothing short of intimidation and the result of ignorance.

Young India, 30-9-1926

430. A DILEMMA

A correspondent writes:[1]

It is likely that the statement, "it would be preferable to use English cloth rather than use cloth made in Indian mills", was quoted[2] from *Hind Swaraj*. In the logical context in which the remark occurs, I would say today the same thing which I did in 1908.[3] It is a statement of principle, and it may not be possible to act upon it in certain circumstances. I, therefore, drew the readers' attention to this point in the Hindi edition of *Hind Swaraj*.[4] What I have stated there is also correct in our present circumstances. If we had not allowed ourselves to be caught in the snare of mills, if the question had merely been whether we should set up new mills and use what we suppose would be swadeshi cloth or to continue to import and use foreign cloth, I would prefer the latter course, because I do not believe that the mill industry is an activity which deserves to be spread in other parts of the world. We could produce cloth even if we had no mill industry, produce enough to meet our needs. We have seen from experience that we do not have to spend much time in this work. I do not, therefore, believe that the mill industry serves any social purpose or benefits the people in any way. But the problem is quite different, the position being exactly the opposite. We have quite a large number of mills in the country. It is not possible today to persuade their owners to wind them up. Boycott of foreign cloth is not only desirable but essential; it is our duty to bring it about; we have the right to do so. In doing that duty, we should make

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had requested Gandhiji to explain the reason which had led to the change in his attitude towards textile mills in India. In *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhiji had stated that it might be in the interest of the country to continue to import cloth from Manchester for some time longer rather than set up mills in the country itself, but in 1921 he had adopted the attitude that India should herself produce all the cloth required to meet her needs, even supporting Indian mills, if necessary.

[2] By Balukaka Kanetkar, at a meeting in Poona

[3] *Hind Swaraj* was written in 1909.

[4] From the preface to the Hindi edition published in 1921, the correspondent had quoted: "My views in regard to mills have undergone this much change. In view of the present predicament of India, we should produce in our own country all the cloth that we need even by supporting, if necessary, mills in India rather than buy cloth made in Manchester."

use of a means which is readily available to us. Not to do so would argue lack of intelligence in us.

Dharma is not an absolute thing which does not change even when circumstances have changed. If people living on the Equator follow what is dharma for people near the North Pole, they would probably be guilty of *adharma*[1]. There is only one absolute dharma, and that is contained in God, otherwise known as truth. The dharma of beings, who are governed by their circumstances and whose strength is limited, changes from hour to hour. The ground on which their dharma rests is unchanging, and that is truth or, if one prefers, non-violence; but, as one stands firm on this ground, there will necessarily be many changes in what dharma requires in actual practice. We should understand the problem of mills in this light. Otherwise, we have no reason to welcome the spread of an industry which induces cultivators to leave their fields to go to cities and live there, with their families, in narrow, dark cells without any regard for morality. Even looking at it from the point of view of the rich, we see no very elevating scenes which are due to the mill-industry. It is not an ennobling ideal merely to earn money and distribute it among a small number of share-holders. But, as the body seems to us a filthy thing when we think of it in the abstract and still we tolerate it because we cannot dispense with it, so also we should tolerate mills since in our present circumstances we cannot get rid of them, and, if they serve our purpose, avail ourselves of their benefit to bring about boycott of foreign cloth. If they do not serve even this purpose, if we discover that on the contrary they hinder our efforts to bring about such boycott, then their destruction may be considered desirable, nay necessary.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 12-9-1926

[1] Opposite of dharma

431. LETTER TO WILLIAM DOULL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 12, 1926

DEAR MR. DOULL,

I have delayed acknowledging your letter[1] of 5th June as I was hoping to see Mr. Umar Johari. I have now seen him. I have paid Rs. 6,500/- the other day and the following cable[2] was sent to you:

I hope that you will send me the securities duly executed. There should be an acceptance by the trustees that this debt will be a first charge on the assets to be handed to Sorabji. You will also please send me cession of the insurance policy duly registered at the insurance office.

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM DOULL, ESQ.
MURRAY COURT
375, SMITH STREET
DURBAN
NATAL

From a photostat: S.N. 10808

432. LETTER TO REV. DEWDNEY W. DREW

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Your long and welcome letter[3] has revived old pleasant memories and old pleasant associations. It was good of you to

[1] In his letter, Doull of Livingston and Doull, Durban Solicitors, had written to Gandhiji of the grave financial difficulties in which Sorabji found himself and that it would stave off his insolvency if he was advanced some moneys from the Rustomjee Jivanji Ghorkhodu Trust on the security of Sorabji's life insurance policies (S.N. 10763).

[2] This is not available.

[3] Writing on July 28, after a silence of over 12 years, Drew described *inter alia* his visit to the Press at Phœnix where *Indian Opinion* was being printed

have visited my son and encouraged him. I am glad that his work has commended itself to you.

You do not expect me to interest you in my activities here nor would I take any such liberty. My editing of *Young India* is really my weekly letter to friends who will care to follow the activities that engross me at the present moment.

The South African affair is somewhat of a shock to me. I was not prepared for such a manifest breach of the undertakings of the Union Government in 1914.

Now that you have opened correspondence do please keep it up and write to me whenever you feel like thinking of an old friend.

Yours sincerely,

REV. DEWDNEY W. DREW
PHŒNIX
NATAL

From a photostat: S.N. 10809

433. LETTER TO MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I have not read the book referred to by you. My own personal experience and those of many others is at variance with the quotation sent by you. But I think there is difference between the author's standpoint and that of my friends and my own. When abstinence is practised "under the false idea that the instinct is but a low pleasure", it may produce "irritability and the weakening of love". But when abstinence is practised for the purpose of self-realization, for the purpose of husbanding vitality and for the seeking, basing [*sic*] love not on physical pleasure but upon soul contact, it soothes one's nerves and purifies and therefore strengthens the bond between the two. Most of the ills that you describe spring, in my opinion, from a wrong view of love and a wrong view of sexual relation. Under my own plan husband and wife need not live separately,

and his meeting Manilal Gandhi whose devoted labours for his father's weekly he commended (S.N. 10788).

that is, under separate roofs, but they certainly ought not to share the same room and lock themselves in. Long course of habit blinds us to the ugliness of men and women passing nights after nights in privacy, without any moral purpose whatsoever. In doing so we become less even than animals. I can see nothing wrong in husband and wife seeking privacy only for sexual act which they will perform in due humility and purely for the sake of procreation. There will, I know, still be animal pleasure left in the act. I would call that lawful animal pleasure. And if we could only set our thought right and strive, in spite of the present practice to the contrary, to shape our own in accordance with the thought, I doubt not that restraint will not only be easy, but the most natural thing in the world. I may have the handsomest girl as my sister and if the custom of kissing my sister is in vogue and in accordance with it I kiss my sister, surely no lustful thought will spring up in my breast. Why should it be different as between husband and wife? That it is different I know to my cost but the difference lies in our mental attitude. We kiss our wives with the intention of satisfying the lustful pleasure. We kiss our sisters or daughters out of lustless affection.

If the mine-owners win, they will win not because there are too many miners, but because the miners do not know how to control themselves. If every miner committed race suicide, ceased to procreate, I do not know that he will better his condition. He will have no ambition left in him. He will not want increase of wages. It is difficult to forecast the future of a body of men who, not knowing the higher life, do not want to restrain themselves and would avoid the responsibilities of citizenship.

You will please remember that check upon procreation is common ground between us. But the methods for checking are so diametrically opposite that the results also are equally different.

Yours sincerely,

M. MUGGERIDGE, ESQ.
AT "FARLEY"
OOTACAMUND

From a photostat: S.N. 19691

434. *LETTER TO RISHABHDAS*

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Bhadra Sud 7, 1982, September 14, 1926

CHI. RISHABHDAS,

I have your letter. You will be doing the proper thing if you follow Bhai Dastane's advice. Your father must be running the business for your sake. It is your dharma to renounce your interest in it. If you sever your connection with it, I feel strongly that you should accept no help from your father. You should obtain from the khadi institution what you need for the maintenance of yourself and your wife. If friends voluntarily offer you any help, you may accept it. They will be paying that sum only to the khadi institution. I hope your wife is keeping good health. Do whatever you decide, without doubts and misgiving.

C/o CONGRESS KHADI BHANDAR
JALGAON

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12280

435. *LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM PATWARDHAN*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, Bhadra Sud 7, September 14, 1926

BHAISHRI APPA,

I have your letter. After leaving this place, Bhai Abdullah went to you. He must be an old friend by now. I cannot of course object to your resuming the diet of uncooked articles; under one condition, though, your health must not suffer. I, too, have had sufficient experience of the harmlessness of uncooked food. But experiments should be carried out in a scientific manner and on a big enough scale. There can be no doubt, of course, that such food should be eaten in small quantity only. Those whose stomach may have become as weak as mine, what should they do? I can think of nothing as a substitute for milk.

The Spinners' Association can certainly take proper precautions in its own stores to ensure that they do not sell fake khadi. But what can it do about other stores?

The broad limit for eradication of untouchability has already been defined, which is, that the four *varnas* should act towards the untouchables as the first three *varnas* act towards the fourth. Anyone who wishes to go beyond this, to eat in the company of untouchables, for instance, may do so of his own free will and at his own risk. We may not refrain from eating in their company fearing that others might follow our example and be guilty of sin, for those who eat in their company commit no sin at all. We, at any rate, eat with them because we think it meritorious to do so. If we cease believing in the idea of pollution through touch, the restrictions in regard to eating will not be, ought not to be, considered an essential part of the caste-system.

If Bhangis are forbidden to ride in tram-cars in Bombay, I think that is an injustice.

Even the present caste-system is based on contempt. All trace of contempt will disappear from Hinduism, if it gets rid of the spirit of untouchability. The notions of high and low are fruit and symptom of the disease of untouchability. Even the history which we learn tells us that the ideas which at present have struck deep roots among us were not a part of the *varna* system of old days.

You may go on asking questions till you are satisfied.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI PURUSHOTTAM PATWARDHAN
(BHAISHRI APPA)
SHRI TILAK RASHTRIYA SHALA
RATNAGIRI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12281

436. TELEGRAM TO A. A. PAUL

[*September 15, 1926*][1]

A. A. PAUL
INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP CONFERENCE
CHITTOOR

REGRET INABILITY REACH YOUR LETTER[2] EARLIER. WISH CONFERENCE SUCCESS INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP IS WHAT WE ALL DESIRE. WITHOUT IT WE CANNOT LIVE AS MEN AND WOMEN.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11376

437. MESSAGE TO AFRICAN DEPUTATION

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 15, 1926

I join the chorus of welcome that will be extended to the South African Deputation that is coming on behalf of the Union Government.[3] Let us show to them all the goodwill that we are capable of showing. But let us not also build castles in the air. The deputation is but a part of the Conference that is to be held in December. They are coming with no authority for action. They are coming merely to gain impressions. The solution of the difficult problem that faces the statesmen of South Africa and India depends upon a multiplicity of circumstances. The coming of the deputation is one such circumstance which we must use in the best manner possible. Let us put the deputation in the position of seeing all the sides of the picture. In other words, they should be enabled to see the truth, the real truth, and nothing but the truth. The case for the Indian settlers in South Africa rests upon purest justice. An impartial study of the

[1] The date is noted on Paul's letter of September 6.

[2] Paul had written to Gandhiji requesting him to attend the International Fellowship Conference at Chittoor during October 8-10 (S.N. 11376).

[3] The deputation arrived in India on September 19, 1926.

question therefore on the part of the South African statesmen that are coming can only do the cause good.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 19692; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 18-9-1926

438. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 15, 1926

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

I have your weekly gift again to acknowledge. Your offer to send me simple Tamil sentences week by week is most tempting. But I must resist the temptation as I have really no time left for anything more than I have on hand.

With love to you all.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3194

439. LETTER TO BHAVANIDAYAL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Bhadra Shukla 8 [September 15, 1926][1]

BHAI BHAVANIDAYALJI,

I have your letter. My reply is as follows:

(1) No, Sir.[2]
(2) The offer was for a plot of land at a distance of 13 miles from Johannesburg and not on long lease. I had dissuaded the Indian residents from accepting it. The reason is obvious.
(3) I did not receive a farthing from the Municipality. But, it had to pay expenses in cases which it lost. Almost all that

[1] The letter was in reply to the addressee's letter of September 9, 1926, regarding South Africa, *vide* Appendix V.

[2] This is in reply to a question whether Gandhiji had given his consent to a move on the part of Indians to surrender the Indian Locations in Johannesburg to the Municipality.

I received from Indian settlers was handed over for public work.

(4) Both the Associations were functioning till the last and were independent of each other.

(5) It is contrary to dharma to bow to anyone under force, but it is one's dharma to bow to everyone in the world of one's own free will; the same principle applies to the question of finger-prints. In India as also in some other countries, finger-prints are required even from persons other than prisoners. Please remember that Mahadevji[1] danced in a naked state.

(6) Our people had objected to giving photographs too, and rightly. In my view, it is far better to give finger-prints than photographs and the method is more scientific.

(7) Your interpretation of "vested rights" is correct.

(8) I have not ignored your book, but I have not finished reading it. I am told that it is full of errors. Not thinking it proper to discuss them, I have kept quiet. My recollection is that you, too, had admitted some errors and written to me to express your regret.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: S.N. 10990

440. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Wednesday, Bhadra Sud 8 [September 15, 1926][2]

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I did get your letter. I have received Lady Pattani's reply, which please find enclosed. You may now take possession of the bungalow whenever you wish.

MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
HOMI VILLA
PANCHGANI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12279

[1] Lord Siva

[2] The addressee stayed at Panchgani in 1926.

441. NOTES

Charkha in Shahabad Schools

The Secretary of the Charkha Committee of the Shahabad District Board writes:[1]

At the demonstration the Secretary read a report from which I take the following:[2]

Whilst the Shahabad District Board is to be congratulated on the introduction of the charkha in the District Board schools, much remains to be done before the experiment can be termed a success. Is all the yarn spun tested for its strength and evenness? Do the boys and girls know how to repair their own charkhas? The output is not enough for the number spinning. There is danger of our being satisfied with a make-believe. That would be worse than no charkha.

Indian Text-books

What it means to prepare real text-books for India's children may be somewhat realized from the following quotation from a letter from Mr. Gregg who is at present teaching hill children on Mr. Stokes's farm in Kotgarh near Simla. He says:

> My time has been much occupied in preparing a re-arrangement of the text-books in both mathematics and physics for my pupils, such as will conform to their experience. All English text-books, and even the Indian ones, are apparently written for city-bred children and presuppose familiarity with machinery and manufactured apparatus of all kinds. These children here have never seen automobiles, steam engines, electric lights, pumps, water-pipes, or even bullock-carts. So the assumptions, pictures, technical terms and arrangement of the text-books of physics, and even of much of mathematics can have no reality and therefore no interest or educational value for them. Gradually, therefore, I am putting together what will be in effect a text-book on science and mathematics for Indian village children. Since most of the children of India are in the villages, I hope it will be useful.

But Mr. Gregg's letter opens up a much wider question. What is true of urbanized, exploiting and wealthy countries like

[1] Not reproduced here. This was about a spinning demonstration by the students of primary schools of Shahabad district held on August 27.

[2] Not reproduced here. This gave an account of the progress of spinning work in the various schools.

England and America cannot be true of an India predominantly rural, pauperized and exploited. For India a multiplicity of text-books means deprivation of the vast majority of village children of the means of instruction. Text-books, therefore, in India must mean, principally and for the lower standards, text-books for teachers, not pupils. Indeed, I am not sure that it is not better for the children to have much of the preliminary instruction imparted to them vocally. To impose on children of tender age a knowledge of the alphabet and the ability to read before they can gain general knowledge is to deprive them, whilst they are fresh, of the power of assimilating instruction by word of mouth. Should, for instance, a lad of seven wait for learning the *Ramayana* till he can read it? The results that we arrive at when we think of the few lacs living in the cities of India are wholly different from those we obtain when we think in terms of the millions of rural India and this, whether we think of matters educational, social, economic or political. Mr. Gregg's effort, therefore, is fraught with important consequences.

Young India, 16-9-1926

442. STUDENTS' DUTY

A Lahore correspondent writes a pathetic letter in scholarly Hindi. I give a free rendering of the main parts of the letter:

> Hindu-Muslim feuds and the feverish activity over the Council elections have thrown the non-co-operating students off their balance. They have sacrificed much for the country. Its service is their watchword. They are today without a helmsman. They cannot enthuse over Councils. They do not want to take part in the Hindu-Muslim feud. They are therefore drifting towards a life of aimlessness and worse. Must they be allowed thus to drift? Pray remember that ultimately you are responsible for this result. For, though nominally they obeyed the Congress call, in reality it was you they obeyed. Is it not up to you now to guide them?

Man can make a trough, can he lead unwilling horses to it? I sympathize with these splendid young men, but I am unable to blame myself for their drifting. If they obeyed my call, what is there to prevent them [from] doing so now? I am speaking with no uncertain voice to all who will listen, to take up the gospel of the charkha. But the fact is that in 1920 they

listened not to me (and that very properly) but to the Congress. What is perhaps more accurate, they listened to the inner voice. The Congress call was an echo of their own longings. They were ready for the negative part. The call of the charkha which is the positive part of the Congress programme, for let it be remembered that it is still the Congress call, seems to make no appeal to them. If so, there is still another much-needed work which is also part of the positive programme of the Congress—the service of the untouchables. Here, too, there is more than enough work for all the students who are pining to do national service. Let them understand that all those who raise the moral tone of the community as a whole, all those who find occupation for the idle millions, are real builders of swaraj. They will make easy even the purely political work. This positive work will evoke the best in the students. It is both post-graduate and pre-graduate work. It is the only real graduating.

But it may be that neither the charkha work nor the untouchability work is exciting enough for them. Then let them know that I am useless as a physician. I have but a limited stock of prescriptions. I believe in unity of disease and, therefore, also of cure. But must a physician be blamed for his limitations, especially when he declares them from the house-tops?

The students for whom the correspondent writes must be resourceful enough to find their own course in life. Self-reliance is swaraj.

Young India, 16-9-1926

443. INFLUENCE OF ATTITUDES

> I have been very interested in your articles in *Young India* on the subject of birth control. I expect you have read J. A. Hadfield's book *Psychology and Morals*. I want to draw your attention to this passage from it:
>
> "We, therefore, speak of sexual pleasure when the expression of this instinct is alien to our moral sense; and we speak of sexual joy when the expression of this instinct is in conformity with the sentiment of love. . . . The too profuse breeders punish not only the poor children they breed, but also humanity in general."[1]

So writes a correspondent. The letter to me is a study in mental attitudes and their influence. Mind takes a rope to be a snake

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

and the man with that mentality turns pale and runs away or takes up a stick to belabour the fancied snake. Another mistakes a sister for wife and has animal passion rising in his breast. The passion subsides, the moment he discovers his mistake. And so in the case quoted by the correspondent. No doubt, whilst "abstinence is practised under the false idea that the instinct is but a low pleasure", it is likely "to produce irritability and the weakening of love". But if abstinence is practised with the desire to strengthen the bond of love, to purify it and to conserve the vital energy for a better purpose, instead of promoting irritability, it will promote equanimity, and instead of loosening the bond of affection, strengthen it. Love based upon indulgence of animal passion is at best a selfish affair and likely to snap under the slightest strain. And why should the sexual act be a sacrament in the human species, if it is not that among the lower animals? Why should we not look at it as what it is in reality, i.e., a simple act of procreation to which we are helplessly drawn for the perpetuation of the species? Only a man having been gifted with a free will to a limited extent exercises the human prerogative of self-denial for the sake of the well-being of the species, for the sake of the nobler purpose, to which he is born, than his brother-animals. It is the force of habit which makes us think the sexual act to be necessary and desirable for the promotion of love, apart from procreation, in spite of innumerable experiences to the contrary that it does not deepen love, that it is in no way necessary for its retention or enrichment. Indeed, instances can be quoted in which that bond has grown stronger with abstinence. No doubt abstinence must be a voluntary act undertaken for mutual moral advancement.

Human society is a ceaseless growth, an unfoldment in terms of spirituality. If so, it must be based on ever-increasing restraint upon the demands of the flesh. Thus, marriage must be considered to be a sacrament imposing discipline upon the partners restricting them to the physical union only among themselves and for the purpose only of procreation when both the partners desire and are prepared for it. Then, in either case supposed by the correspondent, there would be no question of sexual act outside the desire for procreation.

There is an end to all argument if we start, as my correspondent has started, with the premise that sexual act is a necessity outside of the purpose of procreation. The premise is vitiated in the presence of authentic instances that can be cited of complete abstinence having been practised by some of the high-

est among mankind in all climes. It is no argument against the possibility or desirability of abstinence to say that it is difficult for the vast majority of mankind. What was not possible for the vast majority a hundred years ago has been found possible today. And what is a hundred years in the cycle of time open to us for making infinite progress? If scientists are right, it was but yesterday that we found ourselves endowed with the human body. Who knows, who dare prescribe, its limitations? Indeed, every day we are discovering the infiniteness of its capacity[1] for good as well as evil.

If the possibility and desirability of abstinence be admitted, we must find out and devise the means of attaining it. And as I have said in a previous article[1], life must be remodelled, if we are to live under restraint and discipline. We may not, as the vulgar saying goes, have the cake and eat it. If we would impose restraint upon the organs of procreation, we must impose it upon all the others. If the eye and the ear and the nose and the tongue, the hands and the feet are let loose, it is impossible to keep the primary organ under check. Most cases of irritability, hysteria, and even insanity which are wrongly ascribed to attempts at continence will in truth be found traceable to the incontinence of the other senses. No sin, no breach of Nature's laws, goes unpunished.

I must not quarrel about words. If self-control be an interference with Nature precisely in the same sense as contraceptives, be it so. I would still maintain that the one interference is lawful and desirable because it promotes the well-being of the individuals as well as society, whereas the other degrades both and, therefore, unlawful. Self-control is the surest and the only method of regulating the birth-rate. Birth control by contraceptives is race suicide.

Lastly, if the mine-owners are in the wrong and still win, they will do so not because the miners overbreed, but because the miners have not learnt the lesson of restraint all along the line. If miners had no children, they would have no incentive for any betterment and they will have no provable cause for a rise in wages. Need they drink, gamble, smoke? Will it be any answer to say that mine-owners do all these things and yet have the upper hand? If the miners do not claim to be better than capitalists, what right have they to ask for the world's sympathy? Is it to multiply capitalists and strengthen capita-

[1] *Vide* "Conservation of Vital Energy", 2-9-1926.

lism? We are called upon to pay homage to democracy under the promise of a better world when it reigns supreme. Let us not reproduce on a vast scale the evils we choose to ascribe to capitalists and capitalism.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that self-control is not easily attainable. But its slowness need not ruffle us. Haste is waste. Impatience will not end the evil of excessive birth-rate among the proletariat. Workers among the proletariat have a tremendous task before them. Let them not rule out of their lives the lessons of restraint that the greatest teachers among mankind have handed to us out of the rich stores of their experiences. The fundamental truths they have given us were tested by them in a better laboratory than any equipped under the most up-to-date conditions. The necessity of self-control is the common teaching of them all.

Young India, 16-9-1926

444. ANTI-CONSCRIPTION

The following innocent manifesto[1] has been issued in Europe by a special *ad hoc* committee whose address is 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England. Its Hon. Secretary is Mr. H. Runham Brown:

> During the War people in all the countries determined to throw off for ever the yoke of militarism, and, when peace came, the League of Nations was welcomed as the offspring of this hope. It is our duty to see that the terrible suffering of the War does not recur.
>
> We call for some definite step towards complete disarmament, and the demilitarizing of the mind of civilized nations. The most effective measure towards this would be the universal abolition of conscription. We therefore ask the League of Nations to propose the abolition of compulsory military service in all countries as a first step towards true disarmament.
>
> It is our belief that conscript armies, with their large corps of professional officers, are a grave menace to peace. Conscription involves the degradation of human personality, and the destruction of liberty. Barrack life, military drill, blind obedience to commands, however unjust and foolish they may be, and deliberate training for slaughter undermine respect for the individual, for democracy and human life.

[1] This carried the signatures, among others, of Gandhiji and other prominent Indian leaders.

It is debasing human dignity to force men to give up their lives, or to inflict death against their will, or without conviction as to the justice of their action. The State which thinks itself entitled to force its citizens to go to war will never pay proper regard to the value and happiness of their lives in peace. Moreover, by conscription the militarist spirit of aggressiveness is implanted in the whole male population at the most impressionable age. By training for war men come to consider war as unavoidable and even desirable.

By the universal abolition of conscription, war will be made less easy. The Government of a country which maintains conscription has little difficulty in declaring war, for it can silence the whole population by a mobilization order. When Governments have to depend for support upon the voluntary consent of their peoples, they must necessarily exercise caution in their foreign policies.

In the first draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations, President Wilson[1] proposed to make conscription illegal in all affiliated countries. It is our duty to restore the original spirit which created the League, a spirit shared by many of those who fought in the war, and professed by many of the statesmen of the countries concerned. By the universal abolition of conscription we can take a decisive step towards peace and liberty. We therefore call upon all men and women of goodwill to help create in all countries a public opinion which will induce Governments and the League of Nations to take this definite step to rid the world of the spirit of militarism, and to open the way to a new era of freedom within nations and of fraternity between them.

The manifesto is signed by well-known men and women from England, Finland, France, Germany, India, Sweden, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, Denmark, Austria, Japan and Norway. The first step towards the abolition of the military spirit is no doubt abolition of conscription. But the reformers will have to put up an immense struggle to secure State action in the desired direction. Each is afraid and distrustful[2] of his neighbour.

Young India, 16-9-1926

[1] Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), 28th President of the U.S.A.

[2] The source has trustful; *vide*, however, "A Correction", 7-10-1926.

445. *KHADI SERVICE*

The Council of the All-India Spinners' Association that was held recently, discussing the desirability of announcing a definite Khadi Service, appointed a small committee to draft the constitution and circulate it for opinion among khadi workers. The best and cheapest method of circulating the constitution is through the medium of the Press. The draft constitution is published below. I hope that all those who are interested in khadi will send their considered opinion as early as possible. I invite specially the opinion of teachers and students in national educational institutions. There is in this Khadi Service almost limitless scope. Those who are satisfied with mere livelihood derived from service of the millions will find this Khadi Service to be attractive and all-satisfying. The opinion of teachers and students will be most valuable in enabling the Council to fix an acceptable constitution. The following is the translation of the draft constitution.

Khadi Service

There shall be under the All-India Spinners' Association a service called the 'Khadi Service'.

No one shall in future be accepted as a member of that service who does not hold a certificate from the Technical Department of the Association at present situated at the Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati.

Qualifications of Candidates

No one who has not completed his 16th year, who has not a competent knowledge of the vernacular of his province, and of arithmetic, and who does not produce a certificate of good conduct and health, shall be admitted for instruction in the Technical Department.

Instruction

The course of instruction shall be not less than two years and shall include:

(a) all the processes that cotton has to go through up to weaving, that is, gathering, ginning, carding, spinning and weaving;

(b) a knowledge of Hindi or Hindustani, where candicates come from a province where Hindi or Hindustani is not the vernacular;

(c) a knowledge of book-keeping —indigenous and Western.

When the candidate has obtained a certificate of competency in the foregoing he will be sent to a khadi karyalaya in any of the provinces to gain practical experience for one season which extends to nearly 8 months. Any candidate who has obtained a satisfactory certificate from the head of the depot to which he has been sent for practical experience shall be enrolled as a member of the Khadi Service, provided, however, that no one shall be so enrolled who has either broken down in character or health during the course of instruction.

Any person so enrolled will be liable to serve in any depot wherever he is required by the Association. The salary shall be per month Rs. . . . . subject to such increase as may be fixed from time to time by the Khadi Service Board to be appointed by the Association.

Every candidate who wishes to avail himself of the Khadi Service shall be required on joining to sign the contract of service to be framed by the said board.

Miscellaneous

Persons who do not wish to join the Khadi Service may also be admitted for instruction in the Technical Department. Preference, however, will always be given to those who wish to enter the Khadi Service.

There will be a short course of 3 months for those who merely want to learn hand-spinning and all the antecedent processes, that is, ginning, carding and sliver-making.

Every applicant for instruction whose application has been accepted will be required to deposit return fare for the place from which he or she comes, plus Rs. 3 to be utilized for his or her return in the event of his or her being dismissed from any cause whatsoever.

Scholarship

A monthly scholarship of Rs. 12 for board, and free lodging, shall be given to those candidates for instruction who are thought to the entire satisfaction of the Director of the Technical Department to be too poor to pay for their board. No monetary payment will be made where the Department is able to conduct a common boarding-house for candidates.

Reservation

The Council reserves the right to alter or amend the constitution from time to time and frame by-laws, fix the terms of

service, rules of discipline and deal with other matters not covered by the constitution. Nothing in this constitution shall affect the rights of those who are already in the employment of the A.I.S.A.

Young India, 16-9-1926

446. LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 16, 1926

DEAR BIG BROTHER,

I have your letter. I am glad you have liked my reply to the appeal.

Start if you like by all means on the 17th but I shall have to leave for Bombay on the same day you arrive here. I have to do so in connection with the South African Deputation. I leave Bombay the same night, take silence also in the train. You shall have plenty of curds, bran bread and green vegetables when you come. I would like you to come next week. But if you are coming according to your programme, please send a wire to Anasuyabehn and she will inform me. The special bread will be prepared only after you are here. It won't take much time as I shall keep the ingredients ready.

Yours sincerely,

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 19693

447. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Bhadra Sud 9, September 16, 1926

BHAISHRI PRANJIVAN,

I wrote a letter to you about Jeki[1]. I send with this her own letter. You now seem to be well enough to have started working. You have been so careful about your health that I need not tell you not to overwork. Please send money regularly to Jeki. Also let me know whether I should send her expenses for the journey here, and whether I should let her come here. If possible, kindly reply by wire.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

DR. P. J. MEHTA
14, MOGUL ST.
RANGOON

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12282

448. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 17, 1926

MY DEAR CHILD,

The Roman Catholic fast which you refer to in your letter is really no fasting at all, but there is or there was a real fast also amongst them. However, whether they have or they had or not is of no consequence to us. Neither fasting nor anything else that is imposed from without can be of any value. You need not have apologized for raising the question about Christ. In spite of most devout attention to every word ascribed to Jesus in the New Testament and in spite of my having read in a humble spirit all about Jesus, I have really not seen any fundamental distinction between him and the other great teachers. That you

[1] Addressee's daughter who was then at the Sabarmati Ashram

see a vast difference between Jesus and the other teachers I can understand, explain and appreciate. That is the teaching you have imbibed from childhood and you would read everything else with that unconscious conviction. Nobody taught me in my childhood to differentiate. I have therefore grown without bias one way or the other. I can pay equal homage to Jesus, Muhammed, Krishna, Buddha, Zoroaster and others that may be named. But this is not a matter for argument. It is a matter for each one's deep and sacred conviction. I have no desire whatsoever to dislodge you from the exclusive homage you pay to Jesus. But I would like you to understand and appreciate the other inclusive position.

What Menon has told you about the pecuniary difficulty is quite correct. But so is your remark. You will come here if God makes the way clear for you.

Yours,
BAPU

MRS. ESTHER MENON
PORTO NOVO

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, pp. 85-6

449. LETTER[1] TO FRANCISCA STANDENATH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 17, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your latest letter and the previous one also. I had intended to acknowledge the previous letter[2] but pressure of work has prevented me from doing so. I have, however, been keeping myself in touch with you through Swami Anand, and latterly through Mirabai. You have given me no cause whatsoever for displeasure and let me assure you that it is difficult for me to be easily displeased.

[1] Of August 23, 1926
[2] Of March 22, 1926

I detected in your letters overmuch suspicion. Have you made yourself certain that your letters are intercepted or opened?[1] And if they are, why not be totally indifferent? Instead of having *Young India* by registered post, will it not be better to have double copies, the second copy to follow next week, so as to ensure delivery either one week or the other? I suppose there is nothing to prevent the postal department from intercepting registered letters. If I were you, I would even offer to show them all the periodicals and letters I should receive if only they will deliver them promptly to me.

From a photostat: S.N. 10813

450. LETTER TO HELENE HAUSSDING

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 17, 1926

MY DEAR SPARROW[2],

I have your letter. I will send something to the German friend as per your advice. The boils were merely a figment of the imagination, and the imagination being braced up by the fresh breeze of Mussoorie, the boils have disappeared. I see you are quite in your element there. I hope you have persuaded yourself to stay there beyond September. I assure you, neither Kripalani nor the students will take it amiss and I shall apologize for your absence and, if you like, take the burden of your sin if it is transferable. But I would like that distant chirp from Mussoorie rather than your boilful, constipated chirp from close quarters. I believe in the Latin proverb *mens sana in corpore sano*.

Devdas tells me you have an adopted son in Lucknow. I would strongly advise you not to go to your son till the cold weather or rather cool weather has set in. I would, therefore, like you to stay in Mussoorie as long as possible or ask the son of your adoption to found a home in a cooler place and take you there.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 19694

[1] Standenath had expressed doubt and concern about the due delivery of her mail to her.

[2] Evidently, a fond nickname

451. LETTER TO P. A. WADIA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 17, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter giving me a copy of your speech delivered at the Dadabhoy[1] Jayanti. I have read your speech. Whilst it is good, I do not see anything original about it and you have introduced a thought about Dadabhoy which, perhaps, he himself, if he was alive, would repudiate. Dadabhoy's appeal was first and foremost to the self in us, secondarily to the outsiders.

I am returning your speech as requested by you.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1.
P. A. WADIA, ESQ.
HORMAZD VILLA
MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 19696

452. LETTER TO SHEWAKRAM KARAMCHAND

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 17, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Here are my answers:

1. I have simply cited the instance of George Muller as I have heard. I believe in the possibility of a heart prayer being answered in the manner George Muller's is supposed to have been. It does not mean that George Muller did not work for his daily bread. He prayed for the support of a philanthropic institution which he conducted. His life otherwise was a most strenuous life. But it is said of him that he never stretched forth his hand for begging except to God.

[1] Dadabhai Naoroji

2. I have not studied the miracles from the miraculous standpoint. I neither believe nor disbelieve them. I hold that they ought not to affect our conduct one way or the other.

3. I think it is highly probable that the period of our life is fixed, that is to say, the number of breaths we are to take, but that it is possible for us to regulate the duration of breaths and thus apparently prolong life. This is a question of which I have not made any study and I do not allow it to worry me. I have, therefore, given you not my own experience or positive belief but that belief of some people which has commended itself to me.

4. They have no doubt a cooling effect. But they are also in a way stimulants. But you should know that at the present moment I am not myself discarding at least goat's milk. But my belief in the advisability, wherever health permits, of avoiding milk and its products—curds, etc.,—for the sake of making *brahmacharya* easier to practise remains unchanged.

5. It is a fact that I forgo the last meal if I have not been able to take it before sunset. It is a good rule for a *brahmachari* to follow.

6. I do take walking exercise regularly. I keep myself fit for work by regular habits and by a proper selection of food and observing moderation in the quantity I take and by exercising restraint upon the other senses.

7. Monday is a day of silence for me. I do edit *Young India* at least partly on Mondays but, since the operation, I have not been fasting on Mondays. I do recommend a weekly fast to young men who lead busy lives and who are not particular about the quality and the quantity of the food they take. A weekly fast wisely managed is a help rather than a hindrance to the performance of all work, especially when it is mental.

8. A teacher best serves his pupils by living an absolutely exemplary life in every particular and by completely identifying himself with his pupils.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SHEWAKRAM KARAMCHAND
TEACHER
M.A.V. SCHOOL
OLD SUKKUR

From a photostat: S.N. 19697

453. LETTER TO B. N. MAZUMDAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 17, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. Let us not confuse the issue by raising the question of divorce. The only question to be considered is whether a widow should have the same right and free choice as the widower, and, secondly, whether a girl of tender years, even 15, who has been practically forcibly raped and after the rape becomes, according to the present mistaken belief, a widow, should have the right to marry, or if you like, to re-marry a properly qualified person or not.

I would like you not to be shocked at the use of the word rape in this connection. I want you to be shocked at what is today happening in our society. Today the chastity which we impute to widows has been discovered to be amiss. Secret vice that is corrupting society and which now and then sees light of day should be a sufficient warning to us against taking the name of purity, religion, morality in connection with widowhood. What we need to be protected against is not the absolutely necessary remarriage of young widows but the inhuman lust of men in Hindu society. Have you studied the case of men who have more than one wife? Or of old men almost on the brink of the grave marrying girls of 11 and 12 years? Such cases happened only the other day in Western India and in Southern India and I have knowledge of such cases all over India.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. N. MAZUMDAR
ASST. ENGINEER, P.W.D., BENGAL
3, CHARNOCK PLACE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 19698

454. LETTER TO GOPABANDHU DAS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 18, 1926

DEAR GOPABANDHU BABU,

I have your letter.[1] It is a tragic picture you have given of Orissa. My advice to you is not to travel about thinking of giving relief here, there and everywhere. Let us recognize our limitations in all humility. We are not gods but mere frail insignificant human beings. We have no Government to help us. Even our own organization, the Congress, is shattered to pieces. We have no control over an army of workers. We are scattered individuals. If we recognize this limitation we shall not worry and shall find enough work to do. Thus reduced to its simplest term, the problem is easy of solution. You should simply select an area which you can cope with and settle down there and develop it steadily in every way. No more is required of you or any single soul on earth than this. You will have given all you have in the best manner possible.

I wish I could send you someone. Unfortunately, I have no one who can go there and organize. That is my limitation. You should yourself become an expert and if you have any worker, he should become an expert. What is Govinda Babu doing? And is there no expert yet trained in Khadi Department?

Orissa haunts me like a nightmare. Such a splendid country and yet poverty-stricken; its workers good and yet so helpless. Do not wear away your constitution uselessly going about, but preserve it by observing the simple rules of health. Please keep me informed of what is going on.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PANDIT GOPABANDHU DAS
BURMAN DAK BUNGALOW
CUTTACK

From a photostat: S.N. 10997

[1] Gopabandhu Das had written on September 10, 1926, giving details of the Orissa floods, repeating his request for an expert khadi organizer and complaining of his own illness (S.N. 10992).

455. *LETTER TO PYARELAL*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 18, 1926

MY DEAR PYARELAL,

I have your letter. I shall certainly go through the notes you have sent me in reply to the questions raised by Sir Henry Lawrence.

The account you gave me of your encounter with the City Magistrate is excruciatingly funny. It is a fine example of arrogance, ignorance and red tape combined in one person.

I wish Mathuradas will now do without a cook. Your description of the Pathashala of Wai does not surprise me. Without burning sympathy for the poor people it is impossible to appreciate the necessity of spinning.

I am going for one day tonight to Bombay returning Monday morning. I have to go in connection with the South African Deputation. Mahadev alone is coming with me. You will give me a full description of the new abode when you have gone there.

Yours,

From a photostat: S.N. 19699

456. *LETTER TO R. K. KARANTHA*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 18, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I do not feel inclined to publish it in *Young India* unless I can verify the information you have given from the experience of several other people. I am in touch with men who have gone in for these postures but they are not able to certify to the certainty of the result that in your own case has

been fortunately attained. I am forwarding your letter to the Swami[1] himself for his criticism.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. K. KARANTHA
GLADHURST
SANTA CRUZ
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19701

457. LETTER TO SWAMI KUVALAYANANDA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 18, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I enclose herewith a letter for your perusal and remarks. If you have any positive results which you can precisely vouch for in the direction suggested by the correspondent[2] and if you will let me have them, I shall value them and put some young men to practise the postures. You may suggest if they can be undertaken without personal touch.

Yours sincerely,

SWAMI KUVALAYANANDA
KAIVALYA DHAMA
KUNJAVANA
LONAVALA POST
[BOMBAY]

From a photostat: S.N. 19700

458. LETTER TO S. NARAYANA IYER

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 18, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The only thing I can suggest for your friend is that he should have no excitement. He should live all

[1] Swami Kuvalayananda; *vide* the succeeding item.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

the 24 hours in the open air. He should be constantly keeping his body and mind engaged in pure work and pure thought. He should take such gentle exercise as would not unduly tire him. He should omit pulse, eat rice sparingly, avoid all condiments, and he should take a hip-bath in cold water daily on an empty stomach. And he must pray incessantly to God for a pure heart. He must retire early to bed and get up very early.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. NARAYANA IYER
2/15 NAMASIVAYA MUDALI STREET
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 19702

459. *A LETTER*[1]

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 18, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You can learn carding and spinning without any difficulty in Bombay if you apply to Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale, Bhatwadi, Girgaum or to Mr. Vithaldas Jerajani, Khadi Bhandar, Princess Street, Bombay or to Mr. Kotak, Khadi Bhandar, Kalbadevi, Bombay. And when you have acquired the art, you can learn weaving by going to one of the khadi centres such as Bardoli, Ahmedabad, etc. But if you become an expert in carding and spinning, it is unnecessary for you to become a weaver, because the race of weavers is not yet dead and all the yarn you spin can be easily woven.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19703

[1] The addressee is not known.

460. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

Saturday, September 18, 1926

BHAISHRI NARAHARI,

You have not asked for a reply to your letter, but I wished to write a long one. In my view the step which you have taken is correct. I understand Nanabhai's point of view, but to me wearing khadi and spinning are as essential a part of education as learning Gujarati. This is not being a missionary. I shall be patient in regard to your decision. Sometimes problems solve themselves.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI N. D. PARIKH
LOKAMANYA R. V. MANDIR
SURAT

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19550

461. MY NOTES

PERENNIAL QUESTIONS

A reader of *Navajivan* charged with spiritual aspiration insists on his questions being answered through *Navajivan*. I feel some hesitation and am also doubtful whether *Navajivan* is the appropriate place for answering these questions, which moreover are not new. They have troubled people since time immemorial. Nevertheless, I cannot bring myself to reject the correspondent's request. I, therefore, venture to reproduce here his questions and my answers to them.

Should one meditate on God?

One has to do this so that one may know God through the intellect and feel His presence in the heart.

If meditation is essential, how should it be done?

All-transcending and without form, God cannot be apprehended even through meditation. Meditating on the impersonal is hard for embodied beings. So one should meditate on a manifestation of God in personal form. In this age and in this

country, that form is *Daridranarayana*. The only way of meditating on Him is to serve the poor. There may be different ways of serving the poor, but in India the root cause of poverty is idleness and unemployment. In order that people may shake off their laziness, we should spin ourselves and persuade them also to spin and thereby provide them innocent employment. With every breath we take, we should utter this name, *Daridranarayana*, and should see him in our imagination pleased and smiling with satisfaction with every revolution of the spinning-wheel.

What are the attributes of God?

The answer to this question is included in what is stated above, and it does not, therefore, require a separate answer. But let me repeat it and say that He alone knows His attributes, or, rather, that those who have been able to know them have not succeeded in expressing them in words. He is beyond the reach of language; the language in which He can be adequately described has not yet been discovered. So it is that we worship Him as Matsya[1], Varah[2], Narsimha[3], or in human form[4], as suits the temperament of each of us. In doing this, all of us simultaneously follow and do not follow truth. We follow it from our point of view, but do not follow it from the point of view of others who disagree with us. In the eyes of God, we both follow and do not follow truth.

SPINNING-WHEEL AND SELF-PURIFICATION

A worker writes from Vedchhi:[5]

One is rewarded according to one's faith. A Farahad breaking stones for a living got a Shirin. The spinning-wheel will have the power which we put into it. If the sacred *mantra* and similar verbal symbols have immense power in them, it is because we have absolute faith in their power and do *tapascharya* in order that our faith may bear fruit. In the same way, if we try to spread the use of the spinning-wheel with the faith that we shall thereby serve the poor and purify both society and ourselves, and if we do *tapascharya*, even lay down our lives, in order that our faith may be rewarded, it certainly will be rewarded.

Something like this has happened in Vedchhi. Propaganda against the drink-evil can succeed only if carried on in this

[1], [2], [3] & [4] Incarnations of Vishnu as Fish, Boar, Man-lion, Rama and Krishna

[5] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had described the transformation in the lives of *Chodharas* in the Bardoli taluka in Gujarat since the spinning-wheel had been introduced among them.

spirit. A drink addict will not respond if we simply ask him to give up drinking. It is a language which he does not understand. If, however, we live as his neighbour and, by our example, persuade him to employ himself in useful work, he would give up drinking. The drink-addicts in Vedchhi seem to have responded to such an appeal. We would succeed in all other places if we worked with similar patience and faith.

But I should like to say one thing to all workers so that they may be vigilant. The change which we see now will prove illusory and disappear in a few days if the work is not kept up. To ensure that the transformation in the lives of the people becomes permanent, the workers in the respective villages should remain alert and go on with their work without stopping or relaxing their effort.

AN OLD SPINNING SONG

A resident of Bardoli taluka writes:[1]

The song has a spiritual meaning which is easy enough to understand.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 19-9-1926

462. INTERVIEW TO "THE NATAL ADVERTISER"[2]

[BOMBAY,
September 19, 1926]

. . . He maintains that improvement of the masses is becoming progressively more acute every year, and his remedy is to encourage the peasant, who is unemployed for a great portion of the year while the weather is unpropitious, to take to spinning as a means of increasing his income, and of preventing the exploitation of India by the overseas manufacturer.

Foreign manufacturers take £40,000,000 from India annually for cotton cloth, and this can be saved if my charkha (spinning-wheel) movement receives adequate support.

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had reproduced in the letter a song which an old woman had recited to him and which she herself had learnt from her mother who used to sing it while spinning.

[2] On September 18 Gandhiji left Ahmedabad to greet the members of the South African Delegation in Bombay. This meeting took place on September 19 in Sarojini Naidu's rooms at the Taj Mahal Hotel. The extract is from a report by the correspondent of *The Natal Advertiser* datelined: Poona, September 21, reproduced by *The Hindu*.

He admitted that the foreign cloth, or the mill cloth of India, was a better and cheaper textile than the homespun; but when asked whether his movement as a remonstrance against the overwhelming forces of labour-saving machinery and mass production was not as futile as the action of those who destroyed labour-saving machinery in England to keep up the number of hand-workers, he demurred, adding that Indian philosophy was such that his movement was bound to succeed. (A millowner's subsequent rejoinder to this contention was: "But how can it succeed when hand-spinning can only earn one-third of what can be earned daily by mill-hands at incomparably easier work?") In reply to questions, Gandhiji said the movement was "deeply religious", though without ritual—but propagated by some literature and the holding of meetings. He claimed that the mere introduction of hand-spinning had its regenerative influence upon the community, and said its political significance would be realized, because of the universal confidence that would be won by the ultimate success of the movement. . . .

The Hindu, 3-12-1926

463. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

[September 19, 1925][1]

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

The Bombay Samachar mistook me for you and published the information that I was ill. So they thought I was not coming. How nice it would have been if you had gone with a message from me! But it turned out to be only a rumour. I had a long chat with all the members of the deputation, at Mrs. Naidu's room. We talked most of the time about khaddar. They wanted to know why I was so heavily clad. The answer was a sermon on khaddar in which they were deeply interested. Did not see Jahangir anywhere. Met Sir M. Habibulla and had a long chat.

Yes, I may come tomorrow and spin to amuse you. You must not leave till you are strong enough to go.

With love,

Yours,
MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 2636

[1] Gandhiji met the South-African Deputation in Bombay on September 19, and left for Ahmedabad the next day as indicated in the letter.

464. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SABARMATI,
September 20, 1926

JAMNALAL BAJAJ
SHREE
BOMBAY

THANK GOD. ANXIOUSLY AWAITING PARTICULARS.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 58

465. LETTER TO A. W. BAKER[1]

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 21, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I appreciate the fact that you are continuously thinking of me. I did not know that you had taken up residence at North Shepstone. I hope Mrs. Baker is profiting by her stay at the beautiful seaside. I do hold with you that truth is one, but we only see it through the glass darkly, and only in part and each according to his light. The result is naturally a multitude of viewpoints. But if all proceed like the beams of the sun from one central fact, all is well. But I don't want to argue. Though we may differ, I know that we are all sailing in the same direction.

Yours sincerely,

A. W. BAKER, ESQ.
NORTH SHEPSTONE
NATAL

From a photostat: S.N. 10815

[1] In his letter of August 24, Baker had asked Gandhiji: "May not Gautama the Buddha and Confucius have been also reflectors of that one Supreme Truth in preparation for the great unveiling in Jesus the Christ the Light of the World? . . ." (S.N. 10802).

466. LETTER TO HARDAYAL NAG

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 21, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I must say I do not like your khaddar programme. You do not advance the cause of khadi by importing Chandpur spun yarn and getting it woven there. What you want to spread is spinning among your boys. They may become weavers by all means but then they must weave what they themselves spin. If you will only get your boys to spin, the whole of your stock of cotton can be consumed on the spot. And surely there must be some volunteers in Chandpur who are also spinning. In many parts [of] Bengal and other parts of India, spinning is being done although there is no local cotton grown.

Yours sincerely,

BABU HARDAYAL NAG
CHANDPUR
BENGAL

From a microfilm: S.N. 19704

467. LETTER TO DR. SATYAPAL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 21, 1926

DEAR DR. SATYAPAL,

I have your letter. I wish I could persuade you not to embark upon this newspaper enterprise. It can do no earthly good. We have too many papers and I am satisfied that you will not advance the national cause by adding one more to the army of newspapers that have already grown into a nuisance. If you have got honest workers by your side, why engage them in writing what everybody knows? Why not take whatever constructive work they are capable of doing? Each worker is worth more than a newspaper. You will only make [for] turbidity of the atmosphere by launching out upon your enterprise. But if I can-

not persuade [you] to desist at least do please let me have my own way. Recently I have been declining to write for newspapers altogether. But there the main reason is health consideration. I am altogether overworked. If I can help it I would even stop writing for *Young India* and *Navajivan* for the time being but that I dare not do. However, I do not want to put you off with any other reason but the main one.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 19705

468. LETTER TO MUNNALAL G. SHAH[1]

SABARMATI,
Bhadra Sud 15 [September 21, 1926][2]

BHAISHRI MUNNALAL,

I have your letter. Lists of publications by the Navajivan Prakashan Mandir are often published in *Navajivan.* I have not asserted that cow-sacrifice is mentioned in the the Vedas, I do not know whether it is so mentioned. *Mantras* from the Vedas are recited daily in the Ashram. You need not believe everything that may be said about me. Whenever you feel a doubt, you may write to me and ascertain the facts.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

SJT. MOTILAL NATHUSHA
RAJPARA
GOTIMOHALLA
BURHANPUR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 6989. Courtesy: Munnalal G. Shah

469. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

Bhadra Sud 15 [September 21, 1926][3]

MY DEAR RAMESHWARDASJI,

I have your letter. There are about 2,500 subscribers of *Hindi Navajivan.* For it to become self-supporting 500 more will be required. I do not know exactly how many of them may be

[1] It appears this was sent care of Motilal Nathusha.

[2] & [3] From the postmark

from Maharashtra. It would not help to increase the subscription to Rs. 2. You must not worry. Repeat *Ramanama* every day.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: G.N. 166

470. *HAND-SPINNING IN MYSORE*

The Director of Industries in Mysore, Mr. Z. Meccai, has prepared an interesting note on hand-spinning in Mysore. I publish the following condensation of the notes:[1]

I congratulate the Mysore authorities upon the encouragement they are giving to the revival of the only universal cottage industry of India. I commend to their attention the experience of the All-India Spinners' Association. It has found by experiment and observation that it is advisable to introduce hand-ginning simultaneously with hand-spinning. This is easiest in the districts where cotton is grown. Where it is not grown but where it is possible to grow, encouragement should be given to grow it locally. Machine-ginned and machine-pressed cotton loses its vitality and is more difficult to treat with the hand-bow than hand-ginned cotton. In several parts of India, the spinners take seed-cotton. Spinners should also be encouraged to do their own carding. The performance by the spinner of the two processes doubles his wage. With a view to increasing the strength of hand-spun yarn, the State should undertake periodically to test the hand-spun yarn and publish results. Indeed, the whole subject needs to be treated in a scientific manner. And who can be more fitted to do so than a State like Mysore?

Young India, 23-9-1926

[1] This is not reproduced here. It furnished a detailed report of the measures taken by the Mysore Industries Department to promote hand-spinning.

471. *NON-RESISTANCE TRUE AND FALSE*

America is the home of inter-racial conflict on a vast scale. There are earnest men and women in that land of enterprises who are seeking to solve the difficult problem along the lines of non-resistance. One such American[1] friend sends me a paper called the *Inquiry* which contains an interesting discussion on the doctrine of non-resistance. It consists of instances that might possibly be grouped under non-resistance. I select three samples:

> A Chinese student related his experiences at the State University from which he was about to graduate. His reception there had been anything but friendly for the most part, although a few men had gone out of their way to befriend him, one of them even inviting the Chinese to his home for a week-end. On the other hand, a fellow-student who occupied a room next to his made himself particularly obnoxious, throwing shoes against his door and indulging in other pranks. The Chinese overheard this student express horror on finding that an American had taken him home to introduce him to his mother and sister, and immediately he made up his mind that he would teach this student to respect him, not for his own sake, but for the sake of his dear motherland.
>
> So he went out of his way to be friendly to his neighbour. Every day he gave him a smiling good morning, though at first he received no response. He ignored every insult, but tried to make himself pleasant and useful. When he knew his neighbour to be hard up he casually invited him to go to a movie with him. Gradually they talked together more often and found that they had several interests in common. After a while this student invited him to his home.
>
> "We have become warm friends," concluded the Chinese. "I have since spent many holidays and week-ends at his home; and on leaving the university I shall know that one of my fellow-students at least will regretfully miss me."

> The secretary of a railroad Young Men's Christian Association brought one evening into the building twelve Danes, working on the railroad, who had no place to sleep. The English-speaking men, under the sway of racial antipathy, began to object and protested against the foreigners being brought in. Among these newcomers, however, was a skilled musician, who, while the Americans were presenting their objections to the secretary, began to play upon the accordion. He discoursed sweet

[1] This was a mistake. The sender was not an American but an Indian; *vide* "A Correction", 7-10-1926.

music, which soon had its effect. The ire on the faces of the native-born soon began to vanish; the censure died on their lips; their hearts were softened; and that night they sat up late listening to the foreigner playing.—Peter Roberts, *The New Immigration*. The Macmillan Co., 1922, p. 300.

There is a colony of Japanese in X, California. Several years ago some real estate agents sought to sell a considerable amount of land to other Japanese, and the white people were aroused at the thought of a great influx of these people. Meetings were held and a big sign was put on the main boulevard which read: "No Japanese wanted here."

The old resident Japanese of X, who had lived on good terms with the white people, being members of their Farmers' Association, went to the white people and, after consultation finally agreed with them that a further increase in the Japanese population would not be a good thing. The sign was changed to read: "No more Japanese wanted here."

The person who tells this story contends that this action advanced the solidarity of the community and improved relations between the whites and the Japanese in that place, as witness the following:

"The Japanese of X, learning that the American church was in financial difficulties, offered to give a definite amount yearly for its support, in addition to carrying on their own Japanese church work."

Now the first easily comes under true non-resistance. The second is more an instance of presence of mind than non-resistance. The third, from the facts as stated, is an instance, if not of cowardice, as contended by some of the debators, certainly of selfishness. The resident Japanese population in order to retain their earthly possessions agreed to the prohibition of further Japanese immigration. It may have been sound policy. It may have been the only policy advisable. But it was not non-resistance.

Non-resistance is restraint voluntarily undertaken for the good of society. It is, therefore, an intensely active, purifying, inward force. It is often antagonistic to the material good of the non-resister. It may even mean his utter material ruin. It is rooted in internal strength, never weakness. It must be consciously exercised. It, therefore, presupposes ability to offer physical resistance. In the last instance, therefore, the Japanese would have non-resisted, if they had left all their possessions rather than surrendered the rights of prospective immigrants. They might also have suffered death [by] lynching without even mental retaliation and thus melted the hearts of their persecutors. It was no victory of truth that, without any inconvenience to themselves, they were able to retain their property. In terms of non-resis-

tance, their contribution to the American church in its difficulty was a bribe, by no means a token of goodwill or a free gift.

The acquisition of the spirit of non-resistance is a matter of long training in self-denial and appreciation of the hidden forces within ourselves. It changes one's outlook upon life. It puts different values upon things and upsets previous calculations. And when once it is set in motion, its effect, if it is intensive enough, can overtake the whole universe. It is the greatest force because it is the highest expression of the soul. All need not possess the same measure of conscious non-resistance for its full operation. It is enough for one person only to possess it, even as one general is enough to regulate and dispose of the energy of millions of soldiers who enlist under his banner even though they know not the why and wherefore of his dispositions. The monkeys of one Rama were enough to confound the innumerable host armed from head to foot of the ten-headed Ravana.

Young India, 23-9-1926

472. NO FAITH IN PRAYER

Here is a letter written by a student to the Principal of a national institution asking to be excused from attending its prayer meetings:

> I beg to state that I have no belief in prayer, as I do not believe in anything known as God to whom I should pray. I never feel any necessity of supposing a god for myself. What do I lose if I do not care for Him and calmly and sincerely work my own schemes?
>
> So far as congregational prayer is concerned, it is of no use. Can such a huge mass of men enter into any mental concentration upon a thing, however trifling it may be? Are the little and ignorant children expected to fix their fickle attention on the subtlest ideas of our great scriptures, God and soul and equality of all men and many other high-sounding phrases? This great performance is required to be done at a particular time at the command of a particular man. Can love for the so-called Lord take its root in the hearts of boys by any such mechanical function? Nothing can be more repugnant to reason than to expect the same behaviour from men of every temperament. Therefore, prayer should not be a compulsion. Let those pray who have a taste for it and those avoid who dislike it. Anything done without conviction is an immoral and degrading action.

Let us first examine the worth of the last idea. Is it an immoral and degrading act to submit to discipline before one begins to have conviction about its necessity? Is it immoral and degrading to study subjects according to the school syllabus if one has no conviction about its utility? May a boy be excused from studying his vernacular if he has persuaded himself that it is useless? Is it not truer to say that a school boy has no conviction about the things he has to learn or the discipline he has to go through? His choice is exhausted if he had it, when he elected to belong to an institution. His joining one means that he will willingly submit to its rules and regulations. It is open to him to leave it, but he may not choose what or how he will learn.

It is for teachers to make attractive and intelligible what to the pupils may at first appear repulsive or uninteresting.

It is easy enough to say, 'I do not believe in God.' For God permits all things to be said of Him with impunity. He looks at our acts. And any breach of His law carried with it, not its vindictive, but its purifying, compelling, punishment. God's existence cannot be, does not need to be, proved. God is. If He is not felt, so much the worse for us. The absence of feeling is a disease which we shall some day throw off *nolens volens*.

But a boy may not argue. He must, out of a sense of discipline, attend prayer meetings if the institution to which he belongs requires such attendance. He may respectfully put his doubts before his teachers. He need not believe what does not appeal to him. But if he has respect for his teachers, he will *do* without believing what he is asked to do, not out of fear, not out of churlishness, but with the knowledge that it is right for him so to do and with the hope that what is dark to him today will some day be made clear to him.

Prayer is not an asking. It is a longing of the soul. It is a daily admission of one's weakness. The tallest among us has a perpetual reminder of his nothingness before death, disease, old age, accidents, etc. We are living in the midst of death. What is the value of "working for our own schemes" when they might be reduced to naught in the twinkling of an eye, or when we may be equally swiftly and unawares be taken away from them? But we may feel strong as a rock, if we could truthfully say: "We work for God and His schemes." Then all is as clear as daylight. Then nothing perishes. All perishing is then only what seems. Death and destruction have *then, but only then,* no reality about them. For death or destruction is then but a change. An artist destroys his picture for creating a better one. A watch-

maker throws away a bad spring to put in a new and useful one.

A congregational prayer is a mighty thing. What we do not often do alone, we do together. Boys do not need conviction. If they merely attend in obedience to the call to prayer without inward resistance, they feel the exaltation. But many do not. They are even mischievous. All the same the unconscious effect cannot be resisted. Are there not boys who at the commencement of their career were scoffers but who subsequently became mighty believers in the efficacy of congregational prayer? It is a common experience for men who have no robust faith to seek the comfort of congregational prayer. All who flock to churches, temples, or mosques are not scoffers or humbugs. They are honest men and women. For them congregational prayer is like a daily bath, a necessity, of their existence. These places of worship are not a mere idle superstition to be swept away at the first opportunity. They have survived all attacks up to now and are likely to persist to the end of time.

Young India, 23-9-1926

473. *RELIGION OF VOLUNTEERS*

After showing that in this land of many religions, a volunteer is hard put to it to find a common denominator of conduct, a correspondent thus eloquently described the religion of a volunteer:[1]

Stripped of the eloquence, this religion of Truth again resolves itself into its component parts—Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, etc. For Truth will appear to most sincere and conscientious Hindus, Mussalmans and Christians as Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, respectively, *as they believe them.*

The golden rule of conduct, therefore, is mutual toleration seeing that we will never all think alike and that we shall always see *Truth* in fragment and from different angles of vision. Conscience is not the same thing for all. Whilst, therefore, it is a good guide for individual conduct, imposition of that conduct upon all will be an insufferable interference with everybody else's freedom of conscience. It is a much-abused term.

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent had emphasized that Truth, as the essence of all religions, should be the religion of the volunteer, and be above all denominational religions.

Have all people a conscience? Has a cannibal a conscience? Must he be allowed to act according to the dictates of his conscience which tells him that it is his duty to kill and eat his fellows? Now the etymological meaning of conscience is 'true knowledge'. The dictionary meaning is 'faculty distinguishing between right and wrong and influencing conduct accordingly'. Possession of such a faculty is possible only for a trained person, that is, one who has undergone discipline and learnt to listen to the inner voice. But even amongst the most conscientious persons, there will be room enough for honest differences of opinion. The only possible rule of conduct in any civilized society is therefore mutual toleration. It can be inculcated among and practised by all irrespective of their status and training.

Young India, 23-9-1926

474. *KHADI HAWKING IN NORTH MAHARASHTRA*

Mr. V. V. Dastane reports that between 31st August and 7th September, assisted in each place by local helpers, Mr. Bharucha hawked khadi worth Rs. 3,597 in Chalisgaon, Pachora, Bhusaval, Akola and Jalgaon. He states that all Khandesh stock was exhausted and that had they included khadi from outside they would have sold much more.

Young India, 23-9-1926

475. *RETURNED EMIGRANTS*

I appreciate the anxiety of Pandit Benarsidas[1] to save the unfortunate people from another disappointment by those who were domiciled in Fiji being sent to British Guiana. Though the difference between the two countries is great, the experiment is worth trying if the Fiji men desire to go to British Guiana and if that Government will take them notwithstanding the knowledge that they belong to Fiji. So far as the Colonial-borns are concerned, I feel sure that though they may have a knowledge of what is known as kitchen Hindustani, they will

[1] For Benarsidas Chaturvedi's letter to Editor, *Young India*, *vide* Appendix VI.

not be happy except in the Colonies. The vital issues referred to by Pandit Benarsidas must be dealt with later.[1]

Young India, 23-9-1926

476. THE CURSE OF 'I' AND 'MINE'

The following condensed report of Sjt. Satis Chandra Mukerjee's speech delivered at a peace meeting the other day at Darbhanga will be read with interest and profit:[2]

If we could erase the "I's" and the "Mine's" from religion, politics, economics, etc., we shall soon be free and bring heaven upon earth.

Young India, 23-9-1926

477. NOTES

To B, Agra

I fix no arbitrary limit nor do I restrict myself to hard and fast conditions. The widows should have the same freedom that men have. If widowhood is to remain pure, men will have to attain greater purity. After all widows can remarry only when there are men ready to marry them. It may, however, be laid down as a general rule that where a widow cannot restrain herself, she should have the freedom to remarry without incurring any odium. Is it not better that she marries openly than that she should sin secretly? In the case of child-widows there can be no question of opinion. They should be remarried by the parents. If the wives and widows in the fourth division are no better than beasts, which I totally deny and I claim to know something of them, the fault lies at the door of the so-called higher classes. You seem to forget the law that if one limb suffers, the whole body suffers. If one Sudra does evil, it harms the whole society, even as it harms himself and his special class or caste.

[1] Benarsidas Chaturvedi wrote again and Gandhiji had fresh comments to offer; *vide* "Returned Emigrants", 4-11-1926.

[2] This is not reproduced here. The writer's thesis was that the feeling of "I" and "mine" was responsible for much of the communal intolerance and violence in the country, and that, indeed, a true understanding of all religions was possible only through regard for the universal virtues, Truth, Non-violence, etc.

ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO

From Sjt. C. Balajee Rao's note-book I cull the following extracts which he has copied from Gilbert Slater's *Some South Indian Villages*, 1918 (University of Madras, Economic Studies). The extracts are valuable as showing what harm the disappearance of hand-spinning has brought to the villagers. There is no reason why the mischief should not be undone, if only we get sufficient workers to strive for the revival of the industry:[1]

Young India, 23-9-1926

478. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

[Before *September 23, 1926*][2]

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your note. There is no hurry about sending a wire. If you send me the car say at 2.30 p.m., I shall have finished the day's work as much as possible and would reach there about 3.30, be with you for about an hour and come back in time to spin or may spin there while talking. Mridula[3] may keep her wheel ready for me. You must on no account think of stirring out or leaving Ahmedabad in a hurry. Take your rest either there or here—but you must not stir till you are completely cured. More when we meet.

With love,

Yours,
MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 2637

[1] Not reproduced here. These described the decline of subsidiary cottage industries following the disappearance of hand-spinning in several villages.

[2] The letter appears to have been written some time before September 23, the date of the succeeding item.

[3] Presumably, Mridula Sarabhai, daughter of Ambalal Sarabhai, the Ahmedabad millowner

479. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

Thursday [September 23, 1926][1]

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

How naughty? But it is quite right to have complete rest. You must not think of going tomorrow nor the day after unless you are quite ready. I would come to you if you want me in body. If not, the body remains here and the spirit watches by your bedside.

With love,

Yours,
MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 2634

480. LETTER TO EMIL RONIGER

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I had not seen Mirabehn's letter to you. Evidently my words carried a meaning to her which I had not intended. I did not want her to write in my name and on my behalf. But interpreting my remarks in the manner she did, she was of course quite right in writing to you in my name. She has read to me her letter to you. I had not got from that letter that she said anything that might lead you to think that I was displeased. As a matter of fact, I am not inclined to quarrel with your preface even now and after your explanation and after your having recognized your own attitude.

In my opinion a publisher has every right in publishing certainly writings and dissent[ing] partly or wholly from the views expressed by the author or to tone them down. You know much better than I do what the European reader will approve of or can assimilate. You have, therefore, a perfect right to tone down my remarks.

[1] Andrews sailed for South Africa on September 29. The letter appears to have been written on the preceding Thursday, which was September 23.

I myself recognize the defects from a scientific point of view of the *Guide to Health*. In its translated form, I have never read it through. The information given in it about physiological facts is undoubtedly borrowed. The only value of the book consists in subordinating health of the body to that of the spirit within. When I wrote the chapters, I wrote them purely for the Gujarati readers of the *Indian Opinion*. I give you my assurance, therefore, that there was no question of my being displeased at all.

One thing certainly I did not like. Mis-translations and omissions of portions in the original. That I hold is unpardonable. A publisher should publish the whole of an author's writings unless he has the author's permission to delete passages and unless the publisher has informed the author of deletions. You will please, therefore, dismiss from your mind the slightest suspicion that I was either displeased or angry about anything you have done in connection with the publication of my writings.

Yours sincerely,

EMIL RONIGER, ESQ.
SCHWEIZ

From a photostat: S.N. 10819

481. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.[1] I shan't hastily advise the council to do away with the Andhra agency. But I have felt that both you and Seetharama Shastri are too soft-hearted. My own opinion is that softness and ahimsa go ill together. You have to be sometimes hard in order to be really and truly kind. But in Andhra, I have been watching with the greatest pain the indiscipline practised under the name of liberty and unprincipled men getting the upper hand and doing what they like with impunity. Not that these things have not happened elsewhere. But in Andhra, perhaps, the evil has been more accentuated.

[1] Writing on September 18, Venkatappayya had deplored the possibility of having to close down the khadi agency at Guntur, as suggested by Gandhiji to Sitarama Sastri and given the assurance that by personal efforts and supervision they would ensure better conditions (S.N. 11238).

Khadi can succeed today if we can get disciplined men with boundless faith in it and with no other irons in the fire. If you think that you and Seetharama Shastri have that absolute faith in khadi and if you think that you can be hard enough when occasion requires hardness, by all means continue the agency. But let there be no further experimenting in dilatoriness and compromising and pleading [with] people. The agency may be conducted on a business-like footing. And if you think that it is worth while coming here to discuss the whole situation, by all means do come and bring Seetharama Shastri and anybody else you like.

I hope your health is all right and that you have got over your domestic worries.

Yours sincerely,

KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA GARU
GUNTUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 11239

482. LETTER TO Z. M. PARET

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I actually wrote something for you and then destroyed it feeling that I was not doing justice to you. That is to say, instead of striving with you, I was yielding to your wish so as to avoid trouble. What I want to tell you is that you need not lead an organ to carry on temperance work. If you have sincere helpers, their time and your time will be a comparative waste. I have worked among drunkards both in South Africa and here. Do you know that you never reach them through writing? They are past reading anything, they are past being influenced by anything they read. It is the personal touch that wins them from drink if anything does at all. Recently, I have taken to advising every friend who wants to publish a newspaper not to do so.[1] I have resisted also the demand for writing for them. I want to do likewise with you, even if I cannot dissuade you from embarking on your enterprise. You

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Dr. Satyapal", 21-9-1926.

might be too much committed to retrace your steps or. you might hold diametrically opposite views as to the method of carrying on temperance work. I am unable to condemn such thought and action based thereon, only I would then like to have my way and if possible have it appreciated.[1]

Yours sincerely,

DR. Z. M. PARET
EDITOR,
"POWRA PRABHA"
KOTTAYAM
S. INDIA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19706

483. LETTER TO NANALAL KAVI

THE ASHRAM,
September 24, 1926

BHAISHRI NANALAL KAVI,

I have your letter. Thanks. I did not write to you to invite you to act as a *panch*, but only requested your help as a friend. But I see that I have not been able to explain my point of view. I will, therefore, trouble you no further.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRINIVAS, SIR JAGMOHANDAS'S BUNGALOW
NAPEAN SEA ROAD
BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19951

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Z. M. Paret", 7-10-1926.

484. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS R. TAIRSEE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday, Bhadra Vad 3 [September 24, 1926][1]

BHAISHRI LAKSHMIDAS,

I have to reply to two letters from you, one about the boycott of British goods and the other concerning the deputation from South Africa. On reading the pamphlet about boycott, [I feel that] you have written it with a courage worthy of you. But I have not been impressed by your argument. I may not, on principle, agree with the idea of boycotting British goods, but I would certainly understand it if it was feasible and of benefit from a practical point of view. You have not been able to prove either its feasibility or its practical utility. On the contrary, after reading your pamphlet I feel that the boycott of British goods will be of no benefit even from the practical point of view. I am sure you will not want me to go into reasons. From you I would expect suggestions which are practicable. You are intelligent and would not, I believe, strike a blow which would fail in its aim. This blow which you have struck, I am afraid, has certainly failed in its aim.

We or the people wanted representatives from South Africa to visit this country. The Indian residents in South Africa also wanted that we should extend a welcome even to an enemy if we have invited him to our tent. The Conference[2] has been arranged because of the agitation here, and these gentlemen are here in connection with it. It is our clear duty to extend a welcome to them. By doing so, we strengthen our position so that we should be able to tell them what we feel about their laws. We cannot refuse to have anything to do with them by arguing that they have been invited here only by the Government and that we have nothing to do in the matter. We can certainly advance such an argument against anything done in defiance of public opinion. I was, therefore, surprised to read your letter. I

[1] Reference in the letter to the delegation from South Africa indicates that the letter was written in 1926.

[2] The Round Table Conference on the Indian question in South Africa held at Cape from December 17, 1926 to January 13, 1927

had thought that you, at any rate, would not fail to understand our clear duty of extending a welcome to the representatives.

SHRI LAKSHMIDAS TAIRSEE
BAZAAR GATE STREET
FORT
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12283

485. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday, Bhadra Vad 3, September 24, 1926

CHI. JAMNADAS,

The accompanying letter is from Shamaldas. Read out the main part of it to aunt. Preserve the letter or return it to me. I believe that there is nothing more for you to do just now.

SHRI JAMNADAS GANDHI
RAJKOT

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12284

486. TELEGRAM TO RAGHWADAS

[On or after *September 24, 1926*][1]

I HAVE SANCTIONED NOTHING FOR ANY ELECTION NOR HAVE AUTHORITY.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 11330

[1] This was in reply to Raghwadas's telegram received on September 24, 1926 which read: "According Raghupati Sahay's lecture Gorakhpur public wants know whether you sanctioned twentyfive thousand rupees for election" (S.N. 11330).

487. LETTER TO MOTI CHOKSI

THE ASHRAM,
Saturday, Bhadra Vad 4 [September 25, 1926][1]

CHI. MOTI,

I got your five and a half lines. They are not uniformly straight, and if they were re-written properly they would become five. The letters which compose the lines are of all shapes and sizes, some big, some small, some thin and some thick. Even so, it is a letter from you, and that is a favour, no doubt. Let me know what opinion the doctor gave after examining your blood. It is good that you have started reading again. If we fix a time for everything and adhere to it, we improve both in physical and in mental health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12135

488. LETTER TO MOHANLAL

THE ASHRAM,
Saturday, September 25[2], 1926

BHAI MOHANLAL,

Herewith a letter from Rameshwardasji. His address is "Dhulia". If the books ordered by him have not been sent, please send him all the Gujarati books published by us and whatever Hindi books are ready. Send the bill to him. He will remit the amount. It is not necessary to dispatch the books by V.P. Write to me if you do not receive the money in time.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12286

[1] From the postmark
[2] The source has 26 which, however, was not a Saturday.

489. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Saturday, Bhadra Krishna 4 [September 25, 1926][1]

BHAI RAMESHWARJI,

I have your letter. I shall select the books. It is only through patience and contentment that man can be cured of his restlessness.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 186

490. DIFFICULTIES OF A SPINNER

A voluntary spinner writes as follows:[2]

This is a reasonable request. It is not necessary for the Spinners' Association to start a new journal for the purpose; but the difficulties of the kind mentioned by the spinner could be solved through *Navajivan* and *Young India*. Whoever experiences any difficulties in spinning or wishes to ask any questions concerning it may certainly write; his questions will be answered in *Navajivan*. The trouble is that the spinners do nothing to get their problems solved and do not write to me either because of their laziness or indifference or, sometimes, for fear lest they should add to my burden. A sacrificial spinner cannot afford to be either lazy or careless. To be concerned for me is to do injustice both to me and to this movement. I can easily request others to solve problems which I cannot solve myself. Anyone, therefore, who has problems may write without the slightest hesitation, only remembering one condition, namely, that the letters should be written in ink and the correspondent should explain his problem briefly and in legible handwriting, and without argument. It will be easier for me if the envelope bears the words "About Spinning".

[1] From the postmark

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had suggested that the All-India Spinners' Association should maintain contacts with individual spinners and help them to solve their problems.

Now the letter given above has raised one problem which can be solved here. Blowing water-spray is intended to moisten every thread on the hank. This process is essential for increasing the strength of the yarn. It has been found to do so to the extent of 20 per cent. No one, therefore, should remove the yarn from the reel without first blowing water-spray on it. The easiest and the best method of serving the aim behind blowing is to keep the reel immersed in water for three to five minutes and move the hand over it to moisten it. This will moisten every part of the thread to the right degree. The reel will last longer if it is made wholly of wood, instead of having strings round it. The cotton strings used for this purpose will get soiled and then wear out if the reel is immersed in water frequently. If the yarn is not removed from the reel soon after immersing the latter into water but left on it for twelve hours, every coil on the reel would suck in moisture. Our purpose would be served better if the yarn is carefully spread out on the reel before the latter is immersed into water. Moving the hand on the yarn after immersing the reel in water will moisten the yarn more quickly.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-9-1926

491. RESPONSIBILITY OF PARENTS

A teacher writes:[1]

Everyone will admit that there is much truth in what the writer says. The point does not need to be laboured that after one's children are grown-up, if one continues to have children from the same wife or if she is dead, from a second wife, it produces a bad effect on the minds of the older children. But if it is not possible for him to practise self-control, a father should lodge his older children in a separate establishment, or should himself live in a separate room, so that they will not have any opportunity of seeing or hearing anything. This will at least ensure a certain degree of decency. Though childhood should be lived in innocence, parents fond of pleasure corrupt the minds of their children. The practice of *vanaprasthashrama* is good for develop-

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had deplored parents of grown-up boys and girls continuing to have children and had suggested that teachers should make friends with pupils individually and inculcate in them respect for morality.

ing a sense of morality in children and for making them freedom-loving and self-reliant.

The suggestion which the writer has made to teachers is certainly sound. But where there are forty to fifty children in a class and the relationship of the teacher with the pupils is confined to class-work lessons, how will it be possible for the teacher, even if he so wishes, to establish any spiritual relationship with so many children? Again, when six or seven teachers teach six or seven different subjects, which of them can assume the responsibility to give them moral instruction?

Lastly, how many teachers can we come across who will guide the children along the path of morality or win their confidence? This indeed raises the whole question of education, but it cannot be discussed here.

Society moves forward like a flock of sheep without thought or circumspection and some even consider that to be progress. But despite this awful state of affairs, our individual path is clear. Those who know owe it to themselves to create and spread an atmosphere of morality in their own field of work. To begin with, they must first bring about improvement in themselves. When we consider the faults of others, we appear to be very virtuous. But if we direct our attention to drawbacks, we shall find that we are crafty and lascivious. It is far more profitable to sit in judgment on ourselves than on others and while doing so, we find out ways for others. This is one meaning among others of the adage, "If you are good, the world is good." Tulsidas has likened the saint to the philosopher's stone. The simile is not wrong. We must all try to be saints. To be that is not a gift from the skies for an extraordinary man, but is the bounden duty of every man and that indeed is the essence of life.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-9-1926

492. *TELEGRAM TO NEGAPATAM LABOUR UNION*

[Before *September 27, 1926*]

SATYAGRAHA UNLAWFUL IN THE CASE MENTIONED.[1]

The Hindu, 28-9-1926

[1] This was in reply to a communication from the President of the Local Railway Labourers' Union seeking Gandhiji's opinion on the proposed satyagraha by the railway labourers at Negapatam.

493. LETTER TO ROHINI POOVIAH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
September 29, 1926

I have your letter. I shall certainly read your report on the Bhil Seva Mandal.

Have you finally decided to throw in your lot with the Ashram? It would be a rash step, especially when it is evident that you should be earning something at least for the time. If you do join the Ashram, it will still have to be on probation in the first instance. And even as a probationer, you have to take certain vows that is, truth, non-violence, poverty, i.e., non-possession, *brahmacharyam*, etc. They become final at the end of the probation. There is much to be said for Big Brother's caution not from the point of view of marriage but from the point of view of the life to be led here. If the idea of simplicity, poverty, truth, and non-violence has taken possession of you, nobody on earth can prevent you from joining the Ashram. But you must not come with a view merely to give the Ashram life a trial. You need not prepare a khaddar mosquito curtain. It will be certainly better if you secure one. Try at the Khadi Bhandar in Princess Street. But any curtain will do.

Yours sincerely,

MISS ROHINI POOVIAH
C/O MRS. S. N. HAJI
OPPOSITE MARINE LINES STATION
QUEEN'S ROAD
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19707

494. NOTES

Tappers' Association

A correspondent sends me the following report of the formation of a Tappers' Association in Cochin:[1]

Travancore and Cochin are palm groves. Tapping is a big industry in these States. But tapping, instead of being used for health-giving purposes, is abused for promoting the destruction of health and morals. For, the toddy tapped is fermented and sold as drink. This reminds one of the use that is made of vineyards in Europe and South Africa. There is no fruit save oranges to match grapes in its health-giving properties. A person who would live on fresh grapes and a little fatless bread need never get ill. But the grape culture supports a manufacture that destroys annually more people than gunpowder. What fruitarians are nevertheless trying to do, with no present prospect, but with faith in the truth of their mission, the Tappers' Association may do in Cochin if it works without being dismayed by disappointments. It is a splendid idea to turn toddy into jaggery. If it succeeds, it will solve the problem of occupying tappers when temperance becomes the rule of life in the land of palms. It is painful to find that in a Brahmin-ruled State, which has the reputation of being called enlightened, instead of facilities being given there should be vexatious rules imposed upon those who would tap for manufacturing jaggery.

Pivot of Education

At a time when emphasis in education is put more upon literary knowledge than upon character building, the following from the article of Principal Jacks in the *Sunday School Chronicle* will be read with profit:[2]

[1] At a meeting of tappers held at Kunnamkulam, an association was formed with membership restricted to those who tapped for sweet toddy for manufacturing jaggery. Some 102 tappers took the vow that they would not tap for fermented toddy. The object of the Association was to work for the moral and social improvement of the tappers in Cochin State.

[2] The extract, not reproduced here, dwelt on failure, in the march of science, to solve the problem of its correct application, and emphasized the need for "all the enterprise of education and all the activities of religion" to reach "their focus—the point of responsibility".

In Far-off Tuticorin

Sjt. K. Nalla Sivan Pillai writes:[1]

My best wishes will not avail the Swadesa Balyam Sangam if the members do not do their duty by it. The inaccuracy of the language of the latter is disturbing. Why should there be an "about" in giving information about a small society? Instead of saying "most of them spin", the correspondent could have given the exact number of spinners, the time given by each daily to spinning and the count and the quantity spun. Why "there are *about* 20 charkhas" and why not exactly how many? Why "*some* paid spinners"? Why not *quite* how many? Why no mention of the wage given? Are they spinners in need? What is the meaning of "*about* 60 towels"? 60 is a round number. A business-like organization should give business-like information. And those who wish to do khaddar work, i.e., serve the poorest and the neediest, must be business-like. An association of exactly 20 members or even 13 would be a good and lucky association and will be a valuable nucleus for khaddar propaganda on a large scale, if all the 20 or 13 are honest, self-sacrificing, earnest and industrious plodding workers. Khaddar work cannot be done by fits and starts. It cannot be done by impulsive men who would slave for a few days, maybe a few months, and then collapse altogether. Determination and grit are absolute essentials of success in this great national movement.

All-India Spinners' Association

The A.I.S.A. finishes the first year of its existence at the end of the month. Those who are in arrears for the passing year should make up their quota, if they wish to be considered continuing members of the A.I.S.A.. Those who wish to renew their subscription for the next year should hasten to send in their quota. Too much stress cannot be placed upon the necessity of sending well-twisted, even and sprayed yarn. The testers have tested the yarn sent in an indulgent way. But indulgence cannot be continued for ever. It would be bad for the spinners and bad for the nation. Spinners therefore need not be surprised if they find that bad yarn is henceforth rejected, as bad coin, or for that matter everything bad, is or must be rejected. Let the members remember that for receiving the privileges of the constitution to be revised at the end of five years of existence of the

[1] Here followed a factual report of the activities of the Swadesa Balyam Sangam of Tuticorin, not reproduced here.

association, it will be necessary to show five years' continuing membership.

"TAKLI" IN SCHOOLS

Babu Prafulla Ch. Sen has sent to the All-India Spinners' Association an accurate and detailed report of the results of one month's *takli* spinning in the Duadando National School (Bengal) which he has just taken over. The names, the times, and the yards spun, and the average speed for everybody are given in the table sent by him. Twenty-six boys spun during the month of August 14,368 yards, in weight 56 *tolas*, of from six to 30 counts. Nearly 50 per cent of the yarn was fit for warp. The highest average speed attained was 90 yards per hour. The highest time spun by a boy was 18 hours during the month. The highest quantity was 1,621 yards. Only four boys spun 1,000 yards or over and thus qualified themselves in one month to become members of the juvenile branch of the Association, i.e., if they were also wearing khaddar. If the teachers and the boys persist, there is no reason why at the end of the year every boy should not spin enough for his own clothing. I take it that the boys will in due course be taught to card their own cotton, if they are not already doing so.

Prafulla Babu supplements the table with the following interesting letter:[1]

Young India, 30-9-1926

495. SOUTHWARD

That restless great soul, Charlie Andrews, is never so happy as when he is wandering in search of God, i.e., humane service. Illness does not baffle him. If it is labour in distress, Charlie Andrews rushes to the rescue. If it is the flood-stricken that need his assistance, he goes, fever or no fever. Indians overseas find in him an ever-ready helper and an unfailing guide. He was not well. He had a bite from a poisonous insect when he was at Stokes's farm. But he would not take full rest as Santiniketan needed him. He came to Sabarmati before proceeding to South Africa. He was not well. He got worse. But he will not cancel

[1] Not reproduced here. It described the happy results of a change-over from inefficient spinning-wheels to the *taklis* which the pupils took up with avidity.

his passage. He was better, having rested under the hospitable roof of Sjt. Ambalal Sarabhai. And now, though he is not strong enough, he is on his way to South Africa. Before leaving, he left a writing which the reader will find in another column.

For him this work of love is a search for God. It is God's call to which he has responded.

He knows that he may get nothing. But his is "not to reason why"; his is "but to do and die". It is enough for him that the Indians of South Africa want him and that they have a just cause. He does not stop to weigh whether the cause is big or small. For him nothing is too small that is just and truthful. No individual is too lowly, if he needs his service. The Brahmin and the Bhangi, the prince and the peasant, the capitalist and the labourer claim his equal attention, if they stand for truth and justice.

He is sensitive. He feels the criticism gently conveyed to him by well-meaning friends that he should have been in India whilst the Union Deputation was here and the Indian settlers would not need him so long before the time of the Round Table Conference. He has allowed himself just to answer the criticism in his "In Search of God"[1]. He was not wanted by the Deputation. Its hands are full. As a matter of fact, the Deputation does not want to be coached. It does not want to collect evidence officially. It has come to gather impressions without being told. It is enough if the members have come with an open mind. We have no reason to think otherwise. They must be left undisturbed save by their own consciences. And conscience acts best when unprompted. It is put upon its mettle.

Mr. Andrews is wanted in South Africa and that now. Because the settlers immediately need a helper. Reuter has told us they were in consternation when they heard of his illness. He is their chief, if not their only hope. They must prepare

[1] The correct title of the article by Andrews is "The Search for God". He wrote of his impending journey to South Africa: "There have been many voices of discouragement of late, stating—what seems almost evident on the surface—that journeys to South Africa are useless, while the colour bar remains so firmly established; while the daily treatment of Indians in the streets, in the railway trains and in constant social ways, marks them out as an inferior and subject race. All this I know full well from a bitter and intimate experience. Nevertheless, in face of an Asiatic Bill, which has only been suspended, not withdrawn, I have confidence and hope. For God is there, keeping His high Festival in human hearts, quickening love in them among the Dutch and English, even as He is doing here among ourselves; and surely He will meet me there as the companion. . . ."

their case. They need all the time that is now left for that preparation. They need him for this.

He must prepare the atmosphere that is required for the Conference. He is the only living link between the whites and the Indians. The Conference can do nothing, if South African public opinion is intensely hostile to Indians. South African public opinion is not like ours. It has force behind it. It has votes that count. It can dictate policies. It can defy Downing Street. Mr. Andrews can to some extent cultivate and mould that opinion. His very presence disarms criticism and silences opposition. His place at the present moment is undoubtedly in South Africa.

And the deliberations of the Conference will affect not only the future of settlers in South Africa but they will indirectly influence the Asiatic policy of the other Dominions and Colonies. But the settlers must not deceive themselves. Mr. Andrews's powerful intervention is indispensable for their cause. But the ultimate success must depend upon themselves. There is no help in the world like self-help. They must be firm but moderate in their demands; they must speak with one voice; they must act like one man; they must not swerve an inch from truth; they must discharge their part of the contract, i.e., they must conform strictly to all sanitary and building regulations; and lastly they must be prepared in a body to suffer for their cause. There is no salvation without suffering.

Young India, 30-9-1926

496. *NATIONAL EDUCATION*

I commend to the attention of all who are interested in national education the convocation address of Acharya A. T. Gidwani delivered before the students of Kashi Vidyapith and from which I reproduce elsewhere[1] the main extracts. He is by no means despondent about national education or national educational institutions. And in order to cure students of their despondency, he advises them like himself to visit pilgrim-like the different national educational institutions and centres where national graduates are working. I share Acharya Gidwani's optimism. But I do not blind myself, as I know the Acharya does not blind himself, to the grave limitations of the national institutions. They

[1] *Young India*, 30-9-1926, pp. 343-4

do not show the virility of new institutions. The teachers of these institutions have to show greater faith in national education and the institutions they are conducting. They have to perform acts of greater surrender than hitherto. I am convinced that these institutions, in so far as they are languishing, are so doing for the want of faith, the want of dedication on the part of the teachers. They must dare to be original. An attempt may be made to evolve by a conference a common system and a common policy. But probably the better way lies in each institution evolving along its own original lines. This country of ours is vast and variegated enough to warrant a variety of experiments. There are certain things which are obviously common to all national institutions. They do not need re-telling. The idea of pilgrimage on the part of the teachers to the various institutions is undoubtedly sound. But even that idea presupposes a certain degree of buoyant faith.

There is too much of make-believe, self-deception and submission to convention. The field of education which holds the seeds of the future of the children of the soil requires absolute sincerity, fearlessness in the pursuit of truth and boldest experiments, provided always that they are sound and based upon deep thought matured and sanctified by a life of consecration. Not every tyro in education may make such experiments. If the field is vast enough for sound experimenting, it is too dangerous for hasty and ill-conceived prospecting such as people in feverish search of gold delight in.

Young India, 30-9-1926

497. THE UNIVERSAL COTTAGE INDUSTRY

Babu Bijay Bihari Mukharjee of the Bengal Civil Service has published a booklet on the cottage industry of Bengal. It was awarded the Beereshwar Mitter Gold Medal of the Calcutta University. Whilst the conclusions of Babu Bijay Bihari are infirm, the facts he has set forth are well worth consideration by everyone who wishes well to this country. They derive greater importance from the fact that what is true of Bengal is true almost of all India.

> In Bengal, according to the census of 1921, out of every 1,000 persons only 68 live in towns. Outside Calcutta and the metropolitan districts of Howrah, the 24 Parganas and Hooghly, there are three towns containing over 30,000 people. . . . It will not therefore be unreasonable

to hold that of 46,695,536 of the population of the British territory in Bengal, scarcely more than about 13 lakhs of people are urban and the rest live mainly in the villages.

Therefore the writer naturally contends:

> To develop the village and to secure for its inhabitants that sufficiency of comforts which is essential even in a country where only a little suffices, to organize it as a living entity in the body politic of the constitution is the crucial problem before the country. The utterance of Sir Horace Plunkett that "we must have home before home rule" is true of Bengal as much as of Ireland to which he addressed it. One need not ignore the effect of the form of government and the need for a change in it to be convinced of the paramount and supreme necessity of attempts to rehabilitate the 'home' in the villages. In that scheme of rehabilitation the cottage industry is not merely helpful, but absolutely essential.

The author has no difficulty in showing that India was, at one time, not very remote, happy and prosperous. He thus quotes Elphinstone:

> All the descriptions of the parts of India visited by the Greeks give the idea of a country teeming with population and enjoying the highest degree of prosperity.

He has less difficulty in showing that the prosperity was mainly due to the one single industry of spinning and weaving. But today hand-spinning needs resurrection and weaving, though still an important cottage industry, does not need the same attention.

Today, there is no prosperity to note. Three-fourths of the people are dependent solely upon cultivation. In Dacca and Faridpur 92% and in Midnapur 74% of the cultivable land is now under cultivation. The average under cultivation per head of the agricultural population is respectively, .72, .73 and .84 acres for the three districts. Thus there is little margin left for additional cultivation. And no peasantry that is solely dependent on agriculture can possibly live on less than one acre of land. The real average is far below the average given, because in the calculation are included are huge tracts owned by rich zamindars.

> It is no wonder, therefore, that one of the highest officials of the Government had to declare that in this country half the people did not know what it was to have two meals a day.
>
> The seriousness of the situation was expressed by the Famine Commission so long ago as 1877-78 thus: A main cause of the disastrous

consequences of Indian famines and one of the greatest difficulties in the way of providing relief in an effectual shape is to be found in the fact that the great mass of the people directly depend on agriculture and that there is no other industry from which any considerable part of the population derives support. The failure of the usual rains deprives the labouring class as a whole, not only of the ordinary supplies of food obtainable at prices within their reach but also of the sole employment by which they can earn the means of procuring it. The complete remedy, say the Commissioners, for this condition of things will be found only in the development of industries other than agriculture and independent of the fluctuations of the seasons.

The writer shows too that the bulk of the peasantry is occupied only during four months of the year.

The clerks, the officials, the lawyers, the doctors, the politicians, the teachers and all who believe themselves educated in English do not come up even to one per cent of the population.

I have remarked that the writer is weak in his conclusions. The weakness in my opinion is derived from the fact that he has collected all possible cottage industries. As a recital it is good enough. But it does not solve the problem which needs a speedy solution. For the vast bulk of the population, as also the worker in the villages, a museum of industries is simply bewildering. They should have one universal industry. And by a process of exclusion, one arrives at the irresistible conclusion that the only universal industry for the millions is spinning and no other. That does not mean that other industries do not matter or are useless. Indeed, from the individual standpoint, any other industry would be more remunerative than spinning. Watch-making will be no doubt a most remunerative and fascinating industry. But how many can engage in it? Is it of any use to the millions of villagers? But if the villagers can reconstruct their home, begin to live again as their forefathers did, if they begin to make good use of their idle hours, all else, all the other industries will revive as a matter of course. It is no use putting before famishing men a multiplicity of raw foods and expecting them to make their choice. They would not know what to do with them. They will probably rush after the most tempting and perish in the attempt. I remember once in my life being nearly lynched whilst I was distributing rations to famished people. I had to enclose and guard myself and the provisions before I could distribute what I had been given for distribution. We make little headway because we have an unclassified catalogue of industries

for the people to choose, when we should know that there is only one industry it is possible to put before all. They may not all take it up. Let those who can and wish to, by all means, take up any other. But national resources must be concentrated upon the one industry of hand-spinning which all can take up now and besides which the vast majority can take up no other. And when the nation's attention is thus rivetted on its revival, we will not have to be in search of a market for khaddar. The energy and money that have today to be devoted to popularizing khaddar will tomorrow be devoted to its greater manufacture and to its improvement. It is the national inertia that blinds us to the possibility of khaddar and thus paralyses our capacity for a grand national effort. It is not enough to say that hand-spinning is *one* of the industries to be revived. It is necessary to insist that it is *the* central industry that must engage our attention if we are to re-establish the village home.

Young India, 30-9-1926

498. LETTER TO GOPABANDHU DAS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 1, 1926

DEAR GOPABANDHU BABU,

Mr. Andrews asks me to write to you on his behalf as he was unable to do so before he went away. He discussed the Orissa question together and he entertains the same view that I have expressed to you.[1] I do hope that you received that letter of mine, and that you have caught its spirit.

Are you any better now?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PANDIT GOPABANDHU DAS
"SAMAJ" OFFICE
PURI, B.M. RY.

From the original: C.W. 7739. Courtesy: Radhanath Rath

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Gopabandhu Das", 18-9-1926.

499. A LETTER[1]

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I suppose it was for the sake of drawing us closer that Charlie Andrews commissioned me before leaving for South Africa to give you a line about him. He was none too well when he left. I was anxious to keep him with me for a little longer so that he might become stronger but he would not miss the steamer on which he had booked his passage. His heart was with the distressed people in South Africa. I therefore did not strive with him.

I hope that you are keeping well and strong.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 19708

500. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 1, 1926

MY DEAR HENRY,

This is both for you and Millie because Charlie has asked me after his own fashion to write to both of you about him. I suppose he wants me to certify to you that his love for India is as green as ever and not a whit less than his love for England, and his love for humanity is equally great and deep. He was none too well when he sailed, but he would not listen to anybody. He could easily have given himself a fortnight's rest and taken next boat, but his heart was in South Africa. I therefore did not strive with him.

I am making full use of your collection of the *Gita* texts. It is being copied almost regularly day after day and as soon as it is finished, the precious volume will be sent to you duly registered and insured.

[1] Addressee not known

You have asked me for additional texts. If I come across any, I will send you the names.

I hope this will find you both, the boys, Sally, Maud and Mater in the possession of full health. Devdas as you know had [an] operation for appendicitis some months ago. He is enjoying himself at Mussoorie. Ramdas is looking after khadi work in Amreli.

Yours sincerely,

H. S. L. POLAK, ESQ.
42, 47, 48, DANNES INN HOUSE
265 STRAND
LONDON W.C. 2.

From a photostat: S.N. 19709

501. LETTER TO MISSES ANDREWS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 1, 1926

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

Though I cannot recall your features, I have a vivid recollection of having met you in Birmingham in 1914. Your brother Charlie has been more and more endearing himself to the people here. In fact, he has become as much Indian as he is English. And he is now on his way to fulfil his self-imposed mission in South Africa. I had a few happy days with him before he sailed for South Africa. Do please give me a line in acknowledgment when you have leisure and tell me how you are faring.

Yours sincerely,

THE MISSES ANDREWS
ARDLEIGH
BRAY'S LANE, COVENTRY
ENGLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 19710

502. LETTER TO BAPUBHAI

THE ASHRAM,
Bhadra Vad 10, October 1, 1926

BHAISHRI BAPUBHAI,

I got your letter. I recognize no date as my birth anniversary. I know *Rentia-baras*[1]. On that day, everyone should spin, and take a vow that he would spin regularly in future, and wear pure khadi if he has not been doing that.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19952

503. CABLE TO A. I. KAJEE

[*October 2, 1926*][2]

KAJEE
CONGRESS
DURBAN

INADVISABLE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 12024

[1] The twelfth day in the dark half of *Bhadra*, Gandhiji's birth-date according to the Vikram calendar followed in Gujarat, came to be popularly known by this name. It means, "the twelfth day, dedicated to the spinning-wheel."

[2] The cable is quoted in a letter to Gandhiji from A. I. Kajee, Honorary General Secretary, South African Indian Congress, Durban, dated October 10. The letter referred to Gandhiji having received the Union Government's deputation in India, and to the proposed visit of Andrews on October 20, and sent Gandhiji copies of Justice Carter's judgment in *Mrs. Sophia Bhayla* v. *The Licensing Officer for East Court* (S.N. 12024). *Vide* "Precarious Condition in South Africa", 4-11-1926.

504. LETTER TO LALTA PERSHAD SHAD

October 2, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the books. The English book I shall return as soon as I have finished it. But it may take some time before I can go through it. My difficulty, however, is more fundamental than you imagine. But fundamental though it is, it is not so serious as perhaps you imagine. I am in search of a guru because I am humble and because that search is a scientific necessity for every godfearing man. The search is its own reward and its own satisfaction. Some do get the guru they want. But it is not a matter of such moment if they cannot get the guru during the current incarnation. It is enough if the search is absolutely sincere and equally persistent. It is also an article of faith with me that, if my search is sincere and persistent, my guru will come to me instead of my having to go to him if and when I deserve him. I am therefore quite content to remain as I am and there is enough warrant in the Shastras for such contentment. You will, therefore, not consider it a matter of indifference on my part if I cannot take up your suggestion enthusiastically and proceed to Agra. At the same time, if ever I do go to Agra in the course of my travels, I would certainly like to see the institution described by you. I would like too to have more information about it. I know the prototype in Pabna of the Agra institution. I had a long chat about it with Deshbandhu. He was undoubtedly enthusiastic about it. He had great faith in the Thakur and it was out of regard for him that I made it a point when I visited Pabna to see the Sat Sangh Mutt and to make the acquaintance of the Thakur and his mother and the inmates of the Mutt. But I must tell you that I was not much impressed either with the Thakur or with all I saw in the institution. And what I have since heard about the institution is not very creditable to it. The information given to me may be totally incorrect. But I am telling you somewhat of what I know and what I have heard about it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. LALTA PERSHAD SHAD
KAYASTH MOHALLA
AJMER

From a photostat: S.N. 19711

505. LETTER TO R. B. GREGG

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 2, 1926

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I duly received the box containing the golden delicious apples. Please thank Stokes for the parcel of apples. They were certainly delicious to eat. They were not golden to look at. My teeth couldn't work through the apples without stewing them. I ate two. The rest were distributed among patients and persons whom you and Stokes would consider deserving.

I know [I] owe you a reply to your previous letter. I want to send you a fairly long and full reply. That is why I am taking time. Andrews is off. He was none too well for the voyage, but he is not one to be easily dissuaded. I therefore did not strive with him.

Yours sincerely,

R. B. GREGG, ESQ.
C/o S. E. STOKES, ESQ.
KOTGARH
SIMLA HILLS

From a photostat: S.N. 19712

506. LETTER TO WAI GORAKSHA MANDAL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 2, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Please let me know the number of members requiring cotton, the quantity required and the count they spin. Are they skilled spinners? Can they pass the ordinary tests about strength and evenness? Are they too poor to buy cotton? Do they know carding? If not, who makes slivers for them? On receiving your replies to these, I shall be able to decide.

Yours sincerely,

WAI GORAKSHA MANDAL

From a microfilm: S.N. 19713

507. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

Bhadra Vad 11 [October 2, 1926][1]

CHI. MOTI,

I got your letter. Doing service there is your main duty and it should make you completely happy. Take care of your health.

You should improve your handwriting. Today was Mani's birthday. She came to me on her own and took three vows in my presence, not to tell an untruth, not to do mischief and to get up at four in the morning. I will watch how long the child can keep her vows.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12137

508. MADHADA ASHRAM

I made some reference in *Navajivan*,[2] about a year ago, to the state of affairs in the Madhada Ashram, having received complaints in regard to it. I then started correspondence with Shri Shivji on the subject. He agreed to show me the accounts of the Ashram. I sent a personal representative to look into them, and he did so. But Bhai Shivji did not show him some of the account books on the ground that they related to private property.

I received grave charges regarding the moral character of Shri Shivji. I communicated them to him. And he gave me permission to institute an inquiry into the matter. Those who had made the charges were, all of them, responsible persons. Shri Shivji came and met me in the Ashram in connection with this matter. His confessions in regard to the charges gave me a painful shock. I advised him to resign from the Conference[3] and to give up control of the institutions under his charge. He resigned, but did not leave the institutions. I acquainted the

[1] From the postmark

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXVI, pp. 454-6. Shivji was the founder-manager of the Ashram at Madhada, a village in Saurashtra.

[3] Kathiawar Political Conference

Executive Committee of the Conference with the conversation I had with Shri Shivji, and told them what according to me the duty of a public worker required him to do in this situation. I requested the members not to divulge what I had told them.

I informed Shri Shivji that I would have to issue a public statement of some kind. He requested me not to do so and expressed a desire to see me. We met. Shri Shivji felt that I had done him great injustice. I tried to pacify him but to no effect. He says that he had made his confessions in sheer anger. He believes that I was excited during my conversation with him, and says that, because I was excited, he too got excited and was betrayed into making statements which were not true. In view of this, I told him that I was willing to place this matter before a *panch*. It is possible that I have been led away by prejudice and have unintentionally done him injustice. If the *panch* believe, after hearing my account, that I was prejudiced and if they can convince me that I was so, then I will admit my error and publicly apologize. If I do not agree with the finding of the *panch* and if they ask me to maintain silence in public on this subject, I will do so.

Shri Shivji is not agreeable to this. He sent me a draft of the terms of reference for the proposed *panch*, which I refused to sign. According to my previous decision, therefore, I must publish the facts. I have given sufficient time to Shri Shivji and tried to understand his arguments, so that I may not do him injustice in any way. His friends have written somewhat strong letters to me. They have testified to Shri Shivji's innocence. I have read all the letters carefully but I am sorry to state that they have had a contrary effect on me. I do not at all feel that I was excited or angry during my conversation with Shri Shivji. I am not quick to get angry. Nor is it my impression that Shri Shivji had made his confessions to me in sheer excitement. I believe that the affairs of the Madhada Ashram and the private properties are so mixed up that it was, and is, Shri Shivji's duty to show all the accounts. His serious admissions create doubts about his moral character too. No public worker can afford to have moral weaknesses implied in his admissions.

Anyone who runs an institution for widows or young men or women should maintain a particularly high standard of conduct. He cannot have a private life; it is my firm view that the public has a right to know everything about his life. Shri Shivji is a public worker and has been running an institution for young men and women and for widows. The activities of the Madhada

Ashram were many-sided, and that is why I have, as a matter of duty and with great pain, given publicity to the most important aspect of the conclusions of the inquiry I had instituted.

Bhai Shivji and his friends will be pained by this. I can give them only one consolation, and that is to assure them that I have felt, and still feel, much more deeply pained by the impression which has been produced on my mind by the affair than they would feel by my writing this. I do not wish to see anyone in this world morally degraded. I feel ashamed to see even one person fall. I am of the view that when an individual falls the whole society falls. If I could have avoided writing this, I would certainly have kept silent. I prefer silence in such matters. But does anyone always get what would make him happy?

I regard myself as a true friend of Shri Shivji. This article does not mean that I have washed my hands of this affair. I have given him sufficient time. I am ready to give still more time if required. If any of Shri Shivji's friends can show me that I am in error, I will be grateful to him and will be happy to admit my mistake.

If Shri Shivji or any of his friends wishes to write something by way of reply to this, I will publish the whole reply provided it is reasonably short. I should like to tell Shri Shivji's friends that even if a hundred thousand persons believe a person to be innocent but one individual can prove his guilt, then the evidence of those hundred thousand does not avail. I find it necessary to say this in order that people may not write to me the kind of letters which I have been lately receiving for publication.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 3-10-1926

509. *KHADI AT CONCESSION PRICE*

Shri Punjabhai Hirachand, treasurer of the Provincial [Congress] Committee, states that between October 3 and 18 khadi will be sold at considerably reduced prices in the pure khadi store in Pada Pole on Richey Road. In some of the varieties the reduction will be as much as 50 per cent. It will not be less than 6 per cent in any variety. The price of the coarse variety from Kathiawar will be 4 annas a yard instead of 8 annas. Khadi for shirts will cost 4 annas 6 pies a yard instead of 6 annas and shawls and scarves will cost Rs. 1-12-0 each instead of Rs. 2-4-0.

Caps, satchels, straps for bed-steads, etc., will be sold at 12½% reduction. These are only a few items from the list he has sent.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-10-1926

510. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

Sunday, Bhadra Krishnapaksha 12 [October 3, 1926][1]

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter.

When there is a difference of opinion between revered Malaviyaji and me, I cannot express a positive view because I hold him in great reverence. Personally I am quite sure in my mind that at any rate your sphere of work is not in the Council. If, however, you have confidence in yourself and if Malaviyaji wishes that you should enter it, you may certainly do so. One should not readily give up the work one has already taken in hand. My view now is that you should dissuade your friends from offering you advice and, if you get a majority, enter the Council. It does not seem advisable to withdraw after going this far. In the end you will yourself leave the Council. Yes, if Pandit Malaviyaji releases you out of regard for your health, it will be a great blessing for you. Even from the point of view of your health, I think it inadvisable for you to enter the Assembly or the Council.

I do not agree with the comparison you have made.

Jamnalalji is here.

Yours,

MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6136. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] Reference to addressee's candidature for Council election indicates that the letter was written in 1926.

511. *LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL*

SABARMATI,
October 3, 1926

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

I have your letter. The opinion of teachers has been invited in order to make it easy for pupils in national schools to join Khadi Service. For the time being, training will be given by the Satyagraha Ashram itself. Experience shows that all processes up to weaving and keeping of accounts cannot be taught in one year. We have refrained from mentioning the amount of salary so as to enable every friend to state his own independent opinion.

After joining Khadi Service, one is required to work for eight hours daily. While under training, the pupil has to work according to the Ashram rules. Poor pupils are paid enough to cover their expenses, including that on clothes.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI MOOLCHANDJI
TEACHER, A. V. SCHOOL
MANPUR, C. I.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 830

512. *LETTER TO BENARASIDAS CHATURVEDI*

SABARMATI,
Bhadra Krishnapaksha 12 [*October 3, 1926*][1]

BHAI BENARASIDASJI,

I have your second article. Kindly let me know when I admitted that it was an error on my part to have stated that 500 workers should be permitted to emigrate to British Guiana as an experimental measure. I do not remember having said that.

[1] From the postmark

If you can, please send the article in which I have said so. I will publish your article along with that one.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

SHRI BENARASIDAS CHATURVEDI
FEROZABAD
E. I. R.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2566

513. LETTER TO KALYANJI V. MEHTA

Bhadra Vad 14, 1982 [October 5, 1926][1]

BHAISHRI KALYANJI,

A letter was written to you, at my instance, concerning Bhai Manibhai. I shall be happy to have your immediate reply. Manibhai, too, is worrying himself about the matter.

BAPU

BHAISHRI KALYANJI VITHALBHAI MEHTA
SWARAJ ASHRAM
BARDOLI
Via SURAT

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2679

514. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM PATWARDHAN[2]

Bhadra Vad 14, 1982 [October 5, 1926]

BHAI APPA,

I have your letter. I like your idea about a calendar. Here are a few thoughts.

> It is our moral duty to wear hand-woven khadi made from hand-spun yarn, for by doing so we provide employment and give food to crores of our brothers and sisters who are starving for want of work.
>
> Spinning is a moral duty for all of us, for unless we take it up the poor of the country will have no faith in it and

[1] The postmark bears the date 6-10-1926, Sabarmati, but *Bhadra Vad* 14 fell on October 5.

[2] Popularly known as Appasaheb Patwardhan

in us. *Yadyadacharati*[1], etc. If we spin, our time will be well employed, the quality of yarn will improve and, finally, yarn will become cheaper.

Our wearing khadi will help to bring about boycott of foreign cloth, as a result of which we shall acquire self-confidence, our strength will increase and the country will be saved not less than sixty crores of rupees.

You will be able to formulate other arguments besides these. Abdulla should return with his health completely restored.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19953

515. LETTER TO BALDEV SHARMA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have seen your letter addressed to the Superintendent of the Ashram. Do you know that in the Ashram the main work is labouring with one's hands and feet? Are you satisfied with incessant labour at the spinning-wheel or the loom and doing sanitation work such as cleaning roads, sanitary buckets, etc.? Are you able to live as a *brahmachari*, and take the vow of poverty? Are you keeping good health? If your answers to these questions are satisfactory, I must say that just at the present moment, the Ashram is overcrowded, but as soon as there is a vacant room available, you can certainly be admitted as a probationer.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BALDEV SHARMA
"AMRITDHARA"
LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19714

[1] A reference to the *Bhagavad Gita*, III, 21

516. VEGETARIANISM

A correspondent is born in a meat-eating family. He has successfully resisted the pressure from his parents to return to the flesh-pot. But, he says, in a book I have before me:

> I read the opinion of Swami Vivekananda on the subject and feel a good deal shaken in my belief. The Swami holds that for Indians in their present state flesh-diet is a necessity and he advises his friends to eat flesh freely. He even goes so far as to say "If you incur any sin thereby throw it upon me; I will bear it." I am now in a fix whether to eat flesh or not.

This blind worship of authority is a sign of weakness of mind. If the correspondent has such a deep-seated conviction that flesh-eating is not right, why should he be moved by the opinion to the contrary of the whole world? One needs to be slow to form convictions, but once formed they must be defended against the heaviest odds.

As for the opinion of the great Swami, I have not seen the actual writing but I fear the correspondent has correctly quoted him. My opinion is well known. I do not regard flesh-food as necessary for us at any stage and under any clime in which it is possible for human beings ordinarily to live. I hold flesh-food to be unsuited to our species. We err in copying the lower animal world if we are superior to it. Experience teaches that animal food is unsuited to those who would curb their passions.

But it is wrong to over-estimate the importance of food in the formation of character or in subjugating the flesh. Diet is a powerful factor not to be neglected. But to sum up all religion in terms of diet, as is often done in India, is as wrong as it is to disregard all restraint in regard to diet and to give full reins to one's appetite. Vegetarianism is one of the priceless gifts of Hinduism. It may not be lightly given up. It is necessary therefore to correct the error that vegetarianism has made us weak in mind or body or passive or inert in action. The greatest Hindu reformers have been the activest in their generation and they have invariably been vegetarians. Who could show greater activity than, say, Sankara or Dayanand in their times?

But my correspondent must not accept me as his authority. The choice of one's diet is not a thing to be based on faith. It is a matter for everyone to reason out for himself. There has grown up especially in the West an amount of literature on vege-

tarianism which any seeker after truth may study with profit. Many eminent medical men have contributed to this literature. Here, in India, we have not needed any encouragement for vegetarianism. For it has been hitherto accepted as the most desirable and the most respectable thing. Those, however, who like the correspondent feel shaken, may study the growing movement towards vegetarianism in the West.

Young India, 7-10-1926

517. THE SAME OLD ARGUMENT

After reciting the evils from which we are suffering and after dealing with the improvements he would make in agriculture, a correspondent writes:[1]

This is the old argument restated. The correspondent forgets that to make India like England and America is to find some other races and places of the earth for exploitation. So far it appears that the Western nations have divided all the known races outside Europe for exploitation and that there are no new worlds to discover. Among the exploited, India is the greatest victim. Japan is taking the share of the spoils no doubt. But if India and China refuse to be exploited what will happen to the exploiters? And if the Western nations plus Japan are likely to come to grief in the event of India and China refusing to be exploited, what can be the fate of India trying to ape the West? Indeed, the West had had a surfeit of industrialism and exploitation. If they who are suffering from the disease are unable to find a remedy to correct the evils, how shall we, mere novices, be able to avoid them? The fact is that this industrial civilization is a disease because it is *all* evil. Let us not be deceived by catchwords and phrases. I have no quarrel with steamships or telegraphs. They may stay, if they can, without the support of industrialism and all it connotes. They are not an end. We must not suffer exploitation for the sake of steamships and telegraphs. They are in no way indispensable for the permanent welfare of the human race. Now that we know the use of steam and electricity, we should be able to use them on due occasion and after we have learnt to avoid industrialism. Our concern is, therefore, to destroy industrialism at any cost.

[1] Not reproduced here. The correspondent had argued that modern civilization including steamships, railways, machinery and large-scale production should be accepted.

The correspondent has suggested the remedy without knowing it himself. For he admits that India has lived till now when other nations have perished because "she has adapted herself to changing conditions". Adaptability is not imitation. It means power of resistance and assimilation. India has withstood the onslaughts of other civilizations because she has stood firm on her own ground. Not that she has not made changes. But the changes she has made have promoted her growth. To change to industrialism is to court disaster. The present distress is undoubtedly insufferable. Pauperism must go. But industrialism is no remedy. The evil does not lie in the use of bullock carts. It lies in our selfishness and want of consideration for our neighbours. If we have no love for our neighbours, no change however revolutionary can do us any good. And if we love our neighbours, the paupers of India, for their sakes, we shall use what they make for us; for their sakes we, who should know, shall not engage in an immoral traffic with the West in the shape of buying the foreign fineries and taking them to the villages.

If we would but think seriously and persistently, we shall discover that before we make any other changes, the one great change to make is to discard foreign cloth and reinstate the ancient cottage industry of hand-spinning. We must thus restore our ancient and health-giving industry if we would resist industrialism.

I do not fight shy of capital. I fight capitalism. The West teaches one to avoid concentration of capital, to avoid a racial war in another and deadlier form. Capital and labour need not be antagonistic to each other. I cannot picture to myself a time when no man shall be richer than another. But I do picture to myself a time when the rich will spurn to enrich themselves at the expense of the poor and the poor will cease to envy the rich. Even in a most perfect world, we shall fail to avoid inequalities, but we can and must avoid strife and bitterness. There are numerous examples extant of the rich and the poor living in perfect friendliness. We have but to multiply such instances.

India's destiny lies not along the bloody way of the West, of which she shows signs of tiredness, but along the bloodless way of peace that comes from a simple and godly life. India is in danger of losing her soul. She cannot lose it and live. She must not, therefore, lazily and helplessly say, "I cannot escape the onrush from the West." She must be strong enough to resist it for her own sake and that of the world.

Young India, 7-10-1926

518. SORROWS OF GIRL-WIVES

"A Hindu lady from Bengal" writes:[1]

Whether the picture drawn here is true to life or overdrawn, the substance is surely true. I do not need to search for evidence in support. I know a medical man enjoying a large practice having married and taken to himself, an elderly widower, a girl who was young enough to be his daughter. They were living together as "husband and wife". Another, a sixty-year-old educationist a widower, married a girl of nine years. Though everybody knew of the scandal and recognized it as such, he remained inspector outwardly, respected both by the Government and the public. It is possible for me to recall more such instances from my memory and that of friends.

The fair correspondent is correct in saying that "there is no power of resistance left" in the women of India "to fight against any evil whatever". No doubt man is primarily responsible for this state of things. But may women always throw the blame on women and salve their consciences? Do the enlightened among them not owe it to their sex, as also to men whose mothers they are, to take up the burden of reform? What is all the education worth that they are receiving if, on marriage, they are to become mere dolls for their husbands and prematurely engaged in the task of rearing would-be manikins? They may fight, if they like, for votes for women. It costs neither time nor trouble. It provides them with innocent recreation. But where are the brave women who work among the girl-wives and girl-widows, and who would take no rest and leave none for men, till girl marriages become an impossibility, and till every girl feels in herself strength enough to refuse to be married except when she is of full age and to the person about whom she is given the final choice?

Young India, 7-10-1926

[1] Not reproduced here. The correspondent had thanked Gandhiji for "speaking on behalf of the poor girl-wives of our Hindu society" and cited cases of 10-year-old girl-wives being either killed or cruelly maltreated by brutal and pleasure-craving husbands.

519. WANTS SATISFACTION

Here is eloquence which I have not abridged except for the removal of a fling or two at the "magnates of wealth" with their "cesspools in the bed of economic stream":[1]

> I read your article "Students' Duty" of the 16th September. You refuse to guide the unwilling. . . . The thought of the coming millennium makes it a pleasure to spin.
>
> Meanwhile, your forces fret under famine rations and laziness imposed upon them.
>
> Spinning for creating the charkha atmosphere does not occupy all the time . . . I am sure men will not have to rot for want of work and bread in your scheme of swaraj. Working as we do on your terms, we have a right to ask for satisfaction. I expect it in the columns of *Young India* early, as weariness of life grows every minute.

The correspondent seems to possess a fine sense of humour and, therefore, does not need much satisfaction from me. But for the enlightenment of those No-changers, who may be in the same position as he is, but who do not possess the same sense of humour, I may state that, having taken the post of schoolmaster in a Taluq Board school, I should stick to it and spread the gospel of khaddar and only leave the post when I get a job more after the heart of a No-changer; and then too if it can be left without putting the employers to inconvenience. A conscientious worker will never leave his employer in the lurch or use an existing job as a mere stalking-horse. The correspondent could, however, have finished his course of weaving. A good pattern weaver any day earns one rupee per day. If he had become an accomplished shoe-maker, he could also have made as much. One who has caught the spirit of the spinning movement need never feel idle. Has the correspondent mastered the science of spinning? Does he know ginning and carding? He can then earn from eight annas to a rupee per day from ginning and carding. But, presently there will be the Khadi Service. One who is poor but willing can sustain oneself even whilst qualifying for the Service. There is illimitable scope for those honest men and women who do not mind toiling with their bodies and would be satisfied with a simple sustenance wage and have no ambition for riches or fame.

Young India, 7-10-1926

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

520. A CORRECTION

In my article on "Non-resistance" in the issue of 23rd September, I said the paper from which I have quoted was received from an American friend.[1] This was a mistake. The sender who is an Indian and is living in India now draws my attention to the fact that it was he who had received it in the first instance from his American friend and that therefore the sender to me was not an American friend. I apologize for the error which was unintentional. I had put the paper among the *Young India* matter file for attention and had forgotten that it was sent by an Indian friend.

A MISPRINT

The same correspondent draws attention to a misprint in the issue of 16th September in the last line of the article headed "Anti-Conscription". The original reads: "Each is afraid and trustful of his neighbour." It should be "distrustful".

Young India, 7-10-1926

521. LETTER TO Z. M. PARET

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 7, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I understand your viewpoint. But somehow or other, I cannot adopt it. I may be wrong but the conviction is growing upon me that this idea of making substantial reforms through the press agency has been altogether overdone. Everything that you mention in your letter can be done far more efficiently by quiet, organized and persistent work. I would, therefore, ask you not to press me to give you anything. I wouldn't have my heart in it. Let me add that I continue to edit *Young India* and *Navajivan* only because it is work that I have already taken in hand or rather, that was almost forced upon me. But if somebody were today to ask me to embark on any

[1] *Vide* "Non-resistance True and False", 23-9-1926.

such new venture, I would flatly decline. I ask you to appreciate my difficulty.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 19715

522. LETTER TO DR. MURARILAL

THE ASHRAM,
October 7, 1926

DEAR DR. MURARILAL,

I have your letter. All my sympathies are with you in your great loss. I had no idea that your brother had died. But it is a toll which every public worker is often called upon to pay.

With reference to the election bitterness, you attribute to me powers which I do not possess. Could I have felt that I could usefully intervene, believe me, I would have waited for no call; I would have forced myself on the attention of Panditji and Lalaji. But I know my powerlessness and, therefore, I grin and bear.

Yours sincerely,

DR. MURARILAL
CAWNPORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19716

523. LETTER TO R. GANGADHARAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 7, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I would like you to look at the problem in another way. The constitution of the sexes is the . . .[1] temptation that nature has put in our way. If we succumb to it, we remain rooted to the earth. If we surmount it, we rise higher. The tongue is given to us to taste and to speak. But the more we restrain it the better we are, and so with most things in nature.

[1] This is blank in the source.

It would be wrong, therefore, to say that it is a fetish of nature's law to restrain our carnal aptitude.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. GANGADHARAN
THOPPIKANILAKAM
VAIKOM

From a photostat: S.N. 19717

524. LETTER TO BHAVANIDAYAL

Asvina Sud 1 [*October 7, 1926*][1]

BHAISHRI BHAVANIDAYAL,

I have your letter. I think I wrote to you giving my opinion. Even so, I give it here again.

After going through the whole of the book, I realized that I was wrong in having described it as containing slanders. I ask your forgiveness for having done you injustice. I do not recollect now after reading which book of yours I formed this opinion.

And now I reply to your letter. As history, the book leaves much to be desired. All the facts are not stated correctly. I have not read it from the point of view of historical accuracy, nor have I the time to read it from that point of view and make corrections. The fact is that very few of us have the skill of writing anything from the standpoint of history.

Even the account of the satyagraha struggle [in South Africa] which I have written should be treated not as a book of history. I have only given in it my experiences and reminiscences. I, therefore, consider it difficult as also irrelevant to take notice of your book in my autobiography.

Yours,

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From the Hindi original: C.W. 8655. Courtesy: Vishnu Dayal

[1] The serial publication of *An Autobiography* referred to in the letter was commenced in *Young India* on December 10, 1925. The following *Asvina Sud* 1 fell on this date.

525. CIRCULAR LETTER

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 8, 1926

I had expected you to let me have your opinion upon the draft rules for Khadi Service published in *Young India*.[1] I am anxious to publish them in their final shape as early as possible and set the scheme a-going. The only delay is your considered opinion. You will find the rules in *Young India* dated 16th September 1926. Wherever blanks have been kept, as for instance about the salary, they have been purposely kept so that everybody may give his own independent opinion.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. R.
,, RAJENDRA BABU
,, GANGADHARRAO DESHPANDE
,, KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA GARU
DR. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA
SJT. NIRANJAN PATNAIK
,, SATIS BABU
,, V. V. DASTANE

From a microfilm: S.N. 12072

526. LETTER TO AMBIKAPRASAD

Asvina Sud 2 [October 8, 1926][2]

BHAI AMBIKAPRASADJI,

I have your letter. I am not qualified now to say anything by way of guidance on the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. It seems to me that I am serving the cause by my very silence. Please, therefore, excuse me.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7483

[1] *Vide* "Khadi Service", 16-9-1926.
[2] It was in 1926 that Gandhiji had decided to keep silence over communal and political issues, referred to in the letter.

527. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SABARMATI,
October 9, 1926

RAJAGOPALACHARI
TIRUCHENGODU (SOUTH INDIA)

YOU CAN SAY YOU CANNOT CONDUCT ELECTION CAMPAIGN WITHOUT CONVICTION BACK IT ESPECIALLY WHEN DOMESTIC QUARRELS BITTERNESS DAILY INCREASING OVER ELECTIONS.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 12072 a

528. IS THIS HUMANITY?-I[1]

[October 10, 1926][2]

The Ahmedabad Humanitarian League has addressed me a letter from which I take the relevant portions:

> The talk of the whole city of Ahmedabad is the destruction of 60 dogs on his mill premises at the instance of Seth. . . Many a humanitarian heart is considerably agitated over the incident. When Hinduism forbids the taking of the life of any living being, when it declares it to be a sin, do you think it right to kill rabid dogs for the reason that they would bite human beings and by biting other dogs make them also rabid? Are not the man who actually destroys the dogs as also the man at whose instance he does so both sinners?
>
> A deputation of three gentlemen from our Society waited on the Seth on the 28th ultimo. He confessed in the course of the interview that he had to take the course in question to save human life. He also said: "I myself had no sleep on the night I took that decision. I met Mahatmaji the next morning and ascertained his view in the matter. He said, 'What else could be done?' " Is that a fact? And if so, what does it mean?
>
> We hope you will express your views in the matter and set the whole controversy at rest and prevent humanitarianism from being en-

[1] This is the first of a series of eight Gujarati articles published in *Navajivan*. These were later translated by Mahadev Desai into English and published in *Young India*.

[2] The articles are placed under the date of publication in *Navajivan*.

dangered by the shocks given to it by distinguished men like the Seth. The Ahmedabad Municipality, we have heard, is soon going to have before it a resolution for the castration of stray dogs. Is it proper? Does religion sanction the castration of an animal? We should be thankful if you would give your opinion in this matter also.

Ahmedabad knows the name of the mill-owner, but as *Navajivan* is being read outside Ahmedabad also, I have omitted to mention his name in accordance with my practice to avoid personalities whilst discussing a principle. The question raised by the Humanitarian Society is an intricate one. I had been thinking of discussing the question ever since and even before the incident, but on second thought dropped the idea. But the letter of the Society now compels me, makes it my duty, to enter into a public discussion of the question.

I must say that my relations with the mill-owner have been sweet, and, if I may say so, friendly. He came to me and expressed his distress in having had to order destruction of the dogs, and asked my opinion about it. He also said: "When the Government, the Municipality and the *Mahajan* all alike failed to guide me, I was driven to this course." I gave him the reply that the Society's letter attributes to me.

I have since thought over the matter and feel that my reply was quite proper.

Imperfect, erring mortals as we are, there is no course open to us but the destruction of rabid dogs. At times we may be faced with the unavoidable duty of killing a man who is found in the act of killing people.

If we persist in keeping stray dogs undisturbed, we shall soon be faced with the duty of either castrating them or killing them. A third alternative is that of having a special *pinjrapole* for dogs. But it is out of the question. When we cannot cope with all the stray cattle in the city, the very proposal of having a *pinjrapole* for dogs seems to me to be chimerical.

There can be no two opinions on the fact that Hinduism regards killing a living being as sinful. I think all religions are agreed on the principle. There is generally no difficulty in determining a principle. The difficulty comes in when one proceeds to put it into practice. A principle is the expression of a perfection, and as imperfect beings like us cannot practise perfection, we devise every moment limits of its compromise in practice. So Hinduism has laid down that killing for sacrifice is no *himsa* (violence). This is only a half-truth. Violence will be violence for all time, and all violence is sinful. But what is inevi-

table is not *regarded* as a sin, so much so that the science of daily practice has not only declared the inevitable violence involved in killing for sacrifice as permissible, but even regarded it as meritorious.

But unavoidable violence cannot be defined. For it changes with time, place and person. What is regarded as excusable at one time may be inexcusable at another. The violence involved in burning fuel or coal in the depth of winter to keep the body warm may be unavoidable and, therefore, a duty for weak-bodied man, but fire unnecessarily lit in midsummer is clearly violence.

We recognize the duty of killing microbes by the use of disinfectants. It is violence and yet a duty. But why go even as far as that? The air in a dark, closed room is full of little microbes, and the introduction of light and air into it by opening it is destruction indeed. But it is ever a duty to use that finest of disinfectants—pure air.

These instances can be multiplied. The principle that applies in the instances cited applies in the matter of killing rabid dogs. To destroy a rabid dog is to commit the minimum amount of violence. A recluse, who is living in a forest and is compassion incarnate, may not destroy a rabid dog. For in his compassion he has the virtue of making it whole. But a city-dweller who is responsible for the protection of lives under his care and who does not possess the virtues of the recluse, but is capable of destroying a rabid dog, is faced with a conflict of duties. If he kills the dog, he commits a sin. If he does not kill it, he commits a graver sin. So he prefers to commit the lesser one and save himself from the graver.

I believe myself to be saturated with ahimsa—non-violence. Ahimsa and Truth are as my two lungs. I cannot live without them. But I see every moment, with more and more clearness, the immense power of ahimsa and the littleness of man. Even the forest-dweller cannot be entirely free from violence, in spite of his limitless compassion. With every breath he commits a certain amount of violence. The body itself is a house of slaughter, and therefore *moksha* and Eternal Bliss consist in perfect deliverance from the body and, therefore, all pleasure, save the joy of *moksha*, is evanescent, imperfect.

That being the case, we have to drink, in daily life, many a bitter draught of violence.

It is therefore a thousand pities that the question of stray dogs, etc., assumes such a monstrous proportion in this sacred land of ahimsa. It is my firm conviction that we are propagat-

ing *himsa* in the name of ahimsa owing to our deep ignorance of the great principle. It may be a sin to destroy rabid dogs and such others as are liable to catch rabies. But we are responsible, the *mahajan* is responsible, for this state of things. The *mahajan* may not allow the dogs to stray. It is a sin, it should be a sin, to feed stray dogs, and we should save numerous dogs if we had legislation making every stray dog liable to be shot. Even if those who feed stray dogs consented to pay a penalty for their misdirected compassion we should be free from the curse of stray dogs.

Humanity is a noble attribute of the soul. It is not exhausted with saving a few fish or a few dogs. Such saving may even be sinful. If I have a swarm of ants in my house, the man who proceeds to feed them will be guilty of a sin. For God has provided their grain for the ants, but the man who feeds them might destroy me and my family. The *mahajan* may feel itself safe and believe that it has saved their lives by dumping dogs near my field, but it will have committed the greater sin of putting my life in danger. Humaneness is impossible without thought, discrimination, charity, fearlessness, humility and clear vision. It is no easy thing to walk on the sharp sword-edge of ahimsa in this world which is so full of *himsa*. Wealth does not help; anger is the enemy of ahimsa; and pride is a monster that swallows it up. In this strait and narrow observance of this religion of ahimsa one has often to know so-called *himsa* as the truest form of ahimsa.

Things in this world are not what they seem and do not seem as they really are. Or if they are seen as they are, they so appear only to a few who have perfected themselves after ages of penance. But none has yet been able to describe the reality, and no one can.

Young India, 21-10-1926

529. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM

October 10, 1926

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

I continue to receive your weekly gift. Let Savitri write once in a way.

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3181

530. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 10, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

It was from Guruji that I learnt something about you. How is it that you have not kept me in touch with you for some time now? Let me know all about your health.

Here at the present moment about 30 people are bed-ridden with malaria. Shanker, Kakasaheb's son, has a mild attack of typhoid and Kishorelal is down with his old friend asthma. Devdas is still at Mussoorie.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19721

531. LETTER TO B. G. HORNIMAN

Sunday, October 10, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

You will not misunderstand me for telling you that I must not send you any message for your forthcoming paper.[1] The increasing bitterness has made me sad. Multiplication of newspapers multiplies bitterness. Of late, therefore, I have ceased to send messages to newspapers, especially new ones. I refused only two weeks ago to send a message of simple good wishes to Dr. Satyapal on his enterprise.[2] I did likewise for a nationalist weekly in U.P.[3] If I could I would dissuade you from your enterprise at this juncture and feel that I had done a true friend's duty.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRI B. G. HORNIMAN

From a photostat: S.N. 11010

[1] Horniman had sought a message from Gandhiji for the inaugural October 16 issue of *The Indian National Herald* whose policy, he wrote, "will be strongly nationalist and in support of the Indian National Congress" (S.N. 11003).

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Dr. Satyapal", 21-9-1926.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Z. M. Paret", 23-9-1926.

532. WILL

[*October 10, 1926*]

This is my last testament, and by this I revoke all wills executed by me heretofore. I do not possess any property of my own. If, after my death, any article is found to be of my ownership, I bequeath the same to the Trustees of the Satyagraha Ashram, namely, Shri R. J. Jhaveri[1], B. Jamnalalji[2], M. H. Desai[3], I. A. K. Bawazeer[4] and C. K. Gandhi[5], or the Trustees of the said Satyagraha Ashram at the time of my demise and thereafter to the Trustees thereof from time to time as my heirs. I also bequeath to the aforesaid Trustees all my rights in whatever books and whatever articles I have written or I may write hereafter, and also appoint them to administer my affairs after my death if and when necessary. The income derived from the said books and articles or from the copyrights thereof and the property found to be of my ownership is to be used for carrying out the objects of the Satyagraha Ashram according to their discretion. If any of the afore-mentioned Trustees resigns or dies during my lifetime or after my death, the surviving Trustees may carry on the duties under this Will and can appoint a new Trustee to fill up the vacancy if they so desire. I reserve my right to add to or alter this Will.

This Will has been executed by me in a sound state of mind and of my free will at Sabarmati Satyagraha Ashram, *Asho Sud 4, Samvat 1982.*

Witnesses: MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

DESAI VALJI GOVINDJI
CHHOTELAL JAIN

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12220

[1] Revashanker J. Jhaveri
[2] Jamnalal Bajaj
[3] Mahadev Desai
[4] Imam Saheb Abdul Kader Bawazeer
[5] Chhaganlal Khushalchand Gandhi

533. LETTER TO CHANDRASHANKAR

THE ASHRAM,
Asvina Sud 4, 1982, October 11, 1926

BHAISHRI CHANDRASHANKAR,

I have your postcard. I desire neither activity nor withdrawal from activity. I hunger after swaraj, and the hunger is becoming more intense as time passes.

If I were an emperor, I would have done one thing more. It is this: I would have declared illness a crime and punished those who were guilty of it. Among such persons, I would have singled you out to be the first to be punished.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19954

534. RACE ARROGANCE

A German correspondent who is interested in obliterating race distinctions sends me an article showing the wrong done by white Europe to the Abyssinians and the Riffs and the injustice that is being daily perpetrated against the Negro in the United States of America in the name of and for the sake of maintaining white superiority. From the article, I cull the following three instances:

> There were Christian clergymen the other day voyaging to the "Holy Land". A clergyman from the Southern States announced himself. His white fellow-clergymen would not let him travel with them. The passage was refunded and compensation was paid and thus they got rid of the "coloured man".
>
> In South Carolina (U.S.A.) a white man stole a motor car. He got four weeks. The same Court of Justice condemned a Negro to three years' penal servitude for stealing a bicyle. A Delaware (U.S.A.) "coloured" man was sentenced to death for committing rape on a white girl. At Alabama (U.S.A.) two whites were fined \$. 250 each for committing rape on coloured girls.

If the white man is cursed with the pride of race, we are cursed with the pride of birth. Our treatment of the so-called un-

touchables is no better than that of coloured people by the white man. I have cited the examples to show that the material achievements of the West have made no material difference in their morality—the final test of any civilization.

Young India, 14-10-1926

535. A CATECHISM

I gladly publish this catechism[1]. But I must not enter into a long reply even though I should fail to satisfy the able catechist.

1. What I have pleaded for is that parents who commit the sin of "marrying" their daughters of tender age should expiate for the sin by remarrying these daughters, should they become widowed while they are yet in their teens.[2] If the girls become widowed at a ripe age, it is their concern whether they would remarry or remain widowed. If I were called upon to state what the rule should be, I should say the same rule should apply to women as to men. If a fifty-year-old widower may remarry with impunity, it should be open to the widow of that age to do likewise. That in my opinion both will be sinning by remarriage is quite another matter. I should any day subscribe to a reform in the Hindu law making sinful the remarriage of a widow or a widower who voluntarily married after maturity.

2. All I have advocated is abolition of the fifth *varna*.[3] The untouchables should, therefore, merge in the fourth division. The reorganization of the four divisions, the abolition of artificial inequalities and of subdivisions is a separate branch of reform. Interdining means dining off the same plate. If I eat a biscuit cooked by Vishnu, Solomon, Ismail and Company, I do not interdine.

[1] Not reproduced here. This was a long letter by an "Assistant Executive Engineer" raising four basic issues.

[2] The correspondent, referring to Gandhiji's article "Supressed Humanity", 19-8-1926, had asked what his prescription would be for widows of 15 years of age or above.

[3] The correspondent had sought to know why caste reform should not involve inter-dining.

3. I call myself a *sanatani* Hindu[1], because I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishads, the *Puranas* and the writings left by the holy reformers. This belief does not require me to accept as authentic everything that passes as Shastras. I reject everything that contradicts the fundamental principles of morality. I am not required to accept the *ipse dixit* or the interpretations of pundits. Above all I call myself a *sanatani* Hindu, so long as Hindu society in general accepts me as such. In a concrete manner he is a Hindu who believes in God, immortality of the soul, transmigration, the law of Karma and *moksha*, and who tries to practise truth and ahimsa in daily life, and therefore practises cow-protection in its widest sense and understands and tries to act according to the law of *varnashrama*.

4. I must not be drawn into controversy about Swami Dayanand.[2]

Young India, 14-10-1926

536. *TYRANNY OF WORDS*

A correspondent thus writes on my article "No Faith in Prayer" published in *Young India* dated September 23rd:

> In your article bearing the above caption you hardly do justice to the "boy" or to your own position as a great thinker. It is true that the expressions used by the writer in his letter are not all happy but of his clarity of thought there is no doubt. It is also *very* evident that he is not a boy as the word is understood. I should be much surprised to find him under twenty. Even if he is young he seems to show sufficient intellectual development not to be treated in the manner of "A boy may not argue". The writer of the letter is a rationalist while you are a believer, two age-old types, with age-old conflict. The attitude of the one is, 'Let me be convinced and I shall believe', that of the other is, 'Believe and conviction shall come'. The first appeals to reason, the second appeals to authority. You seem to think that agnosticism is but a passing phase among all young people and that faith comes to them sooner or later. There is the well-known case of Swami Vivekananda

[1] & [2] The correspondent had asked, citing what Gandhiji had written in "Curse of Child Marriage", 26-8-1926, why he termed himself a "Hindu" and at the same time denied the authority of the Shastras. The correspondent had charged Gandhiji, in the light of his articles "Defending Child Marriage", 9-9-1926 and "The Hydra-headed Monster", 29-7-1926, with intolerance of which Gandhiji had considered Swami Dayanand and the Arya Samajists guilty.

to support your view. You therefore proceed to prescribe a compulsory dose of prayer to the "boy" for his own good. Your reasons are twofold. *Firstly*, prayer for its own sake, as a recognition of one's own littleness, and mightiness and goodness of the supposed higher being; *Secondly*, for its utility, for the solace it brings to those who want to be solaced. I shall dispose of the second argument first. Here it is recommended as a sort of staff to the weak. Such are the trials of life, and such is their power to shatter the reason of men that a great many people may need prayer and faith sometimes. They have a right to it and they are welcome to it. But there have been and there are always some true rationalists — few no doubt—who have never felt the necessity of either. There is also the class of people who while they are not aggressive doubters are indifferent to religion.

As all people do not ultimately require the help of prayer and as those who feel its necessity are *free* to take to it and *do* take to it, when required, compulsion in prayer from the point of utility cannot be upheld. Compulsory physical exercise and education may be necessary for physical and mental development of a person, not so the belief in God and prayer for the moral side. Some of the world's greatest agnostics have been the most moral men. To these I suppose you would recommend prayer for its own sake, as an expression of humility, in fact your first argument. Too much has been made of this humility. So vast is knowledge that even the greatest scientists have felt humble sometimes, but their general trait has been that of *masterful* inquiry, their faith in their own powers has been as great as their conquests of nature. Had it not been so we should still be scratching earth with bare fingers for roots, nay, we should have been wiped out of the surface of the earth.

During the Ice Age when human beings were dying of cold and when fire was first discovered, your prototype in that age must have taunted the discoverer with 'What is the use of your schemes, of what avail are they against the power and wrath of God?' The humble have been promised the Kingdom of God hereafter. We do not know whether they will get it, but there on this earth their portion is serfdom. To revert to the main point, your assertion about "accept the belief and the faith shall come" is too true, terribly true. Much of the religious fanaticism of this world can be traced directly to this kind of teaching. Provided you catch them young enough, and keep at them repeatedly and long enough, you can make a good majority of human beings believe in *anything*. That is how your orthodox Hindu or fanatical Mahommedan is manufactured. There are of course always a small few in either community who will outgrow these beliefs that have been forced upon them. Do you know that if the Hindus and the Mahommedans stopped studying their scriptures until they reached maturity, they would not be such fanatical believers

in their dogmas and would cease to quarrel for their sake? Secular education is the remedy for the Hindu-Muslim riots, but you will not be able to appreciate the solution, for you are not made that way.

Great as our debt is to you for setting an unprecedented example in courage, action and sacrifice in this country, where people have been always *much* afraid, when the final judgment is passed on your work it will be said that your influence gave a great setback to intellectual progress in this country.

I do not know the meaning of boy "as the word is ordinarily understood", if a 20-year-old lad is not a boy. Indeed I would call all school-going persons boys and girls, irrespective of their ages. But whether the doubting student may be called a boy or a man, my argument must stand. A student is like a soldier (and a soldier may be 40 years old) who may not argue about matters of discipline when he has put himself and chooses to remain under it. A soldier may not remain a unit in his regiment and have the option of doing or not doing things he is asked to do. Similarly a student, no matter how wise or old he is, surrenders when he joins a school or a college the right of rejecting its discipline. Here there is no underrating or despising the intelligence of the student. It is an aid to his intelligence for him to come voluntarily under discipline. But my correspondent willingly bears the heavy yoke of the tyranny of words. He scents "compulsion" in every act that displeases the doer. But there is compulsion and compulsion. We call self-imposed compulsion self-restraint. We hug it and grow under it. But compulsion to be shunned even at the cost of life is restraint superimposed upon us against our wills and often with the object of humiliating us and robbing us of our dignity as men and boys if you will. Social restraints generally are healthy and we reject them to our own undoing. Submission to crawling orders is unmanly and cowardly. Worse still is submission to the multitude of passions that crowd round us every moment of our lives ready to hold us their slaves.

But the correspondent has yet another word that holds him in its chains. It is the mighty word "rationalism". Well, I had a full dose of it. Experience has humbled me enough to let me realize the specific limitations of reason. Just as matter misplaced becomes dirt, reason misused becomes lunacy. If we would but render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's, all would be well.

Rationalists are admirable beings, rationalism is a hideous monster when it claims for itself omnipotence. Attribution of

omnipotence to reason is as bad a piece of idolatry as is worship of stock and stone believing it to be God.

Who has reasoned out the use of prayer? Its use is felt after practice. Such is the world's testimony. Cardinal Newman never surrendered his reason, but he yielded a better place to prayer when he humbly sang "one step enough for me". Sankara was a prince among reasoners. There is hardly anything in the world's literature to surpass Sankara's rationalism. But he yielded the first place to prayer and faith.

The correspondent has made a hasty generalization from the fleeting and disturbing events that are happening before us. But everything on this earth lends itself to abuse. It seems to be a law governing everything pertaining to man. No doubt religion has to answer for some of the most terrible crimes in history. But that is the fault not of religion but of the ungovernable brute in man. He has not yet shed the effects of his brute ancestry.

I do not know a single rationalist who has never done anything in simple faith and has based every one of his acts on reason. But we all know millions of human beings living their more or less orderly lives because of their childlike faith in the Maker of us all. That very faith is a prayer. The "boy" on whose letter I based my article belongs to that vast mass of humanity and the article was written to steady him and his fellow-searchers, not to disturb the happiness of rationalists like the correspondent.

But he quarrels even with the bent that is given to the youth of the world by their elders and teachers. But that it seems is an inseparable handicap (if it be one) of impressionable age. Purely secular education is also an attempt to mould the young mind after a fashion. The correspondent is good enough to grant that the body and the mind may be trained and directed. Of the soul which makes the body and the mind possible, he has no care, or perhaps he is in doubt as to its existence. But his disbelief cannot avail him. He cannot escape the consequence of his reasoning. For, why may not a believer argue on the correspondent's own ground and say he must influence the soul of boys and girls even as the others influence the body and the intelligence? The evils of religious instruction will vanish with the evolution of the true religious spirit. To give up religious instruction is like letting a field lie fallow and grow weeds for want of the tiller's knowledge of the proper use of the field.

The correspondent's excursion into the great discoveries of the ancients is really irrelevant to the subject under discus-

sion. No one questions, I do not, the utility or the brilliance of those discoveries. They were generally a proper field for the use and exercise of reason. But they, the ancients, did not delete from their lives the predominant function of faith and prayer. Works without faith and prayer are like an artificial flower that has no fragrance. I plead not for the suppression of reason, but for a due recognition of that in us which sanctifies reason itself.

Young India, 14-10-1926

537. "*TAKLI*" *IN SCHOOLS*

I offer no apology for reproducing practically in full the following business-like report of *takli* spinning in the national school at Dondaicha (West Khandesh):[1]

There should be no delay about introducing carding in the school.[2] No boy or girl can be regarded a full spinner unless he or she can card and make slivers. There is no reason why the schoolmasters should not card for their pupils till the latter have learnt it themselves. National school teachers may not regard themselves as mere paid employees. They are trustees for the moral and mental and physical welfare of the pupils as well as for national finances.

Young India, 14-10-1926

538. *KHADI EXHIBITIONS*

Bihar seems to be specializing in khadi exhibitions. Here is the latest report about an exhibition at Jamshedpur being the fourteenth of the season:[3]

Ahmednagar in Maharashtra has also had a successful exhibition. This was held between 11th and 19th September. The report before me states that it was attended by Seth Jamnalal

[1] The report, not given here, furnished details of production of yarn by the pupils and the accounts of the *takli* class.

[2] The report had said: "Carding will be taken in hand after one month, when agricultural pursuits of boys are over."

[3] The report, not reproduced here, was of the exhibition organized by the Bihar Provincial Khadi Department between September 15 and 23. It gave a gist of the speech by F. C. Temple, who had presided over the inaugural function. It was attended, among others, by Rajendra Prasad.

Bajaj and Messrs B. G. Horniman, Khadilkar, Jamnadas Mehta, V. V. Dastane, C. V. Vaidya, Shankerrao Lavate, Vamanrao Joshi, and Dr. Sathe among others. The attendance was nearly ten thousand and included all classes. The cash sales amounted to over Rs. 4,000.

Young India, 14-10-1926

539. IMPROVISED METHOD OF TESTING

The head master of Dondaicha school inquires whether there is an improvised method of testing the strength and the count of yarn. Here is a recipe:

Take from the yarn at random 4 yards and make a reel two feet in circumference. This will be one foot in length and hang it stretched to a peg so as not to get untwisted. Hang at the other end regulated weights. You are ready to measure the test when the strand snaps by the weight.

Weigh the broken strand in a fine scale. Now one *tola* is 100 *ratis*. If the reel weighs approximately 18½ *ratis* the yarn is count 1. If the reel weighs less the fraction of 18 *ratis* will be the count of yarn. Thus if the 4 yards weigh 3 *ratis*, since 3 *ratis* is 1/6th of 18, the count is 6. In the absence of fine scales and very small weights, the strands may be more yards, where a waste of yarn is not of much consequence. (Broken yarn may be used for making wicks, etc.) The convenient length is 21 yards and its multiples, 42, 84. The following table should be memorized:

7000 grains = 1 lb. = 38 8/9 *tolas*
180 grains = 1 *tola*
840 yards yarn = 1 lease.

Therefore:

$$\frac{7000 \text{ grains}}{\text{Weight of hank of 840 yards (in grains)}} = \text{Count.}$$

Or
$$\frac{38\ 8/9\ \textit{tolas}}{\text{Weight of hank in } \textit{tolas}} = \text{Count.}$$

Or
$$\frac{\text{Yards} \times 10}{\textit{Tolas} \times 216} = \text{Count.}$$

To arrive at the test remember:

$$\frac{315\ \textit{tolas} \times \text{length}}{\text{Count}} = 100 \text{ test.}$$

One round = 2 lengths.

To find the unevenness of a given quantity of yarn made up into strands:

Find the counts of six strands selected anyhow from your hank.

Total the counts and divide by six. You have the average count.

Take the difference between the highest and the lowest counts.

Then

$$\frac{\text{The difference} \times 100}{\text{the average}} = \text{unevenness p.c.}$$

Deduct the unevenness percentage from 100 and you have the percentage of evenness.

Thus if six strands show respectively 16, 18, 15, 20, 22, and 17 counts, the total is 108; $\frac{108}{6} = 18$.

Now the lowest count is 15 and the highest is 22. The difference is 7.

Therefore $\frac{7 \times 100}{18} = 39$ nearly unevenness.

Therefore $100 - 39 = 61$ evenness.

Young India, 14-10-1926

540. LETTER TO KSHITISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 14, 1926

DEAR KSHITISH BABU,

I have your letter about Gauhati Exhibition. Immediately on receipt of your letter, I sent a telegram[1] to the Committee whether they reconsider their decision to include mill cloth and powerloom cloth in their exhibits. This is the telegraphic reply received by me:

> Not exhibiting mill cloth powerloom cloth. Items carelessly included in prospectus. Making necessary correction—Secretary, Congress Exhibition.

I suppose nothing now needs to be done.

[1] This is not available.

I hope you are doing well. Satis Babu has not written to me now for some time. I hope both he and Hemaprabhadevi are also doing well.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KSHITISH CH. DAS GUPTA
39, CHARKDANGA, ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 11240a

541. LETTER TO NORMAN LEYS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 14, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter[1] and the statement made before the Court by Mr. Tarini P. Sinha. I have a copy of your book called *Kenya.* But I shall value an autograph[ed] copy if you have one to spare.

Yours sincerely,

DR. NORMAN LEYS
BRAILSFORD
NEAR DERBY

From a photostat: S.N. 12173

542. LETTER TO ZUBEDA BANO

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 14, 1926

MY DEAR YOUNG FRIEND,

I like your letter. You must gradually improve your handwriting. But, for a ten-year-old girl what you have sent is not at all bad especially as you have been studying English only for the last 4 months. I cannot recommend any English book to you which you can read and understand well at the present moment. My advice to you would be to learn all about India from the vernacular, which I suppose is Hindustani. Do you read the

[1] This was dated September 20 (S.N. 12172); *vide* Appendix III.

Devanagari script? If you can, I can recommend some books to you.

Having taken it up, I hope you will never give up the charkha and khaddar.

Yours sincerely,

MISS ZUBEDA BANO
C/o SECRETARY
ANJUMAN ISLAM
INDORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19718

543. LETTER TO DR. PARASHURAM

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 14, 1926

DEAR DR. PARASHURAM,

I have your letter. The only advice that I can give you is: 'Go back to your place, return to your practice and there do what service you can. And make no fuss about it.'

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19719

544. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 15, 1926]

DEAR MIRA,

I am silent for overtaking arrears. I did not think of glycerine being an animal product though now that you mention it, I see I knew the thing. But although it is an animal product, you should continue to use it to paint the tonsils. Applying is not the same thing as eating. You probably use soap that contains animal fat, but you will not eat it. More, however, later. I hope you will not disturb yourself over the matter.

BAPU

MIRA BEHN

From the original: C.W. 5187. Courtesy: Mirabehn

545. LETTER TO ATHALYE[1]

THE ASHRAM,
October 15, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

With reference to your letter, I have now got a detailed reply from Jamnalalji from which I gather that you wrote to him letters of confession and apology for having caused him much worry and trouble. So far as I can see, Jamnalalji has gone out of his way to placate you. And the arbitration, which was of your choice, decided against you. Jamnalalji further tells me he has had no correspondence or other communication with Dr. Mehta with reference to you. Nothing, therefore, remains to be done by me.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. ATHALYE
SADASHIV PETH
POONA CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19720

546. LETTER TO SATISH CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 15, 1926

DEAR SATISH BABU,

I have your letter with useful enclosures[2] thoughtfully sent by you. I did not know that Krishnadas was away from you. I never gave myself any anxiety on his score seeing that he is by your side or somewhere under your direct guidance.

[1] The identity of the addressee is not known.

[2] The enclosures to Mukherjee's letter of October 12, 1926, consisted of the copy of a letter dated September 15, 1926 from Dr. Karl Thieme of Leipzig, addressed to Krishnadas, a typescript copy of "A Quaker View of Non-co-operation" by A. Barrett-Brown, Principal, Ruskin College, and the press cutting of a letter from Miss Lilian Edger to *The Statesman*, 3-10-1926, "which," Mukherjee wrote, "has appealed to me and may just interest you" (S.N. 11004).

Of course, the Hindu-Muslim problem is becoming more and more complicated.[1] But what is one to do where one is helpless? I am an optimist because I believe in the efficacy of prayerful thought. When time for action has come, God will give the light and guidance. I therefore watch, wait and pray holding myself in momentary readiness to respond.

The cutting that Miss Lilian Edger has sent you is interesting as also the extracts from "No More War". I hope to make use of both in *Young India*. Lord Oxford's article, I have not yet read. You have said nothing, in your own fashion, about your health. Do please let me have a line to tell me that you are keeping stronger than before. There is no prospect now of Romain Rolland coming to India at all;[2] certainly, not during the ensuing winter. He is daily aging and has a very delicate constitution.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 11006

547. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SABARMATI,
October 16, 1926

SHREE
BOMBAY

KAMALA HAS NO TYPHOID SIMPLE MALARIA. GETTING BETTER. NO ANXIETY.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 58

[1] Mukherjee had written: "The Hindu-Muslim riots are a great strain on me and my nerves. . . ."

[2] This was in reply to Mukherjee's question: "Do you expect M. Romain Rolland somewhere next winter?"

548. *IS THIS HUMANITY?-II*

[*October 17, 1926*]

When I wrote the article on this subject I knew that I was adding one more to my already heavy burden of troubles. But it could not be helped.

Angry letters are now pouring in. At an hour when after a hard day's work I was about to retire to bed, three friends invaded me, infringed the religion of ahimsa in the name of humanity, and engaged me in a discussion on it. They had come in the name of humanity. How could I refuse to see them?

So I met them. One of them, I saw, betrayed anger, bitterness and arrogance. He did not seem to me to have come with a view to getting his doubts solved. He had come rather to correct me. Everyone has a right to do so, but whoever undertakes such a mission must know my position. This friend had taken no trouble to understand my position. But he was not to blame for it. This impatience which is but a symptom of violence is to be found everywhere. The violence in this case was painful to me as it was betrayed by an advocate of non-violence.

He claimed to be a Jain. I have made a fair study of Jainism. This visitor's ahimsa was a distortion of the reality as I have known it in Jainism. But the Jains have no monopoly of ahimsa. It is not the exclusive peculiarity of any religion. Every religion is based on ahimsa, its application is different in different religions.

I do not think that the Jains of today practise ahimsa in any better way than others. I can say this because of my acquaintance with Jains, which is so old that many take me to be a Jain. Mahavir was an incarnation of compassion, of ahimsa. How I wish his votaries were votaries also of his ahimsa!

Protection of little creatures is indeed an essential part of ahimsa, but it does not exhaust itself with it. Ahimsa begins with it. Besides protection may not always mean mere refraining from killing. Torture or participation, direct or indirect, in the unnecessary multiplication of those that must die is *himsa.*

The multiplication of dogs is unnecessary. A roving dog without an owner is a danger to society and a swarm of them is a menace to its very existence.

If we want to keep dogs in towns or villages in a decent manner, no dog should be suffered to wander. There should be no stray dogs even as we have no stray cattle. Humanitarian societies should find a religious solution of such questions.

But can we take individual charge of these roving dogs? And if we cannot, can we have a *pinjarapole* for them? If both these things are impossible, there seems to me to be no alternative except to kill them.

Connivance or putting up with the *status quo* is no ahimsa, there is no thought or discrimination in it. Dogs will be killed whenever they are a menace to society. I regard this as unavoidable in the life of a householder. To wait until they get rabid is not to be merciful to them. We can imagine what the dogs would wish if a meeting could be called of them, from what we would wish under the same circumstances. We will not choose to live anyhow. That many of us do so is no credit to us. A meeting of wise men will never resolve that men may treat one another as they treat rabid or stray dogs. What shall we expect of them if there were to be some beings lording it over us as we do over dogs? Would we not rather prefer to be killed than to be treated as dogs? We offend against dogs as a class by suffering them to stray and live on crumbs or savings from our plates that we throw at them and we injure our neighbours also by doing so.

I admit that there is the duty of suffering dogs to live even at the cost of one's life. But that religion is not for the householder who desires to live, who procreates, who would protect society. The householder can but practise the middle path of taking care of a few dogs.

Our domestics of today are the wild animals of yesterday. The buffalo is a domestic only in India. It is a sin to domesticate wild animals inasmuch as man does so for his selfish purposes. That he has domesticated the cow and the buffalo is not out of mercy for them, it is for his own use. He, therefore, does not allow a cow or a buffalo to stray. The same duty is incumbent regarding dogs. I am, therefore, strongly of opinion that, if we would practise the religion of humanity, we should have a law making it obligatory on those who would have dogs to keep them under guard, and not allow them to stray, and making all the stray dogs liable to be destroyed after a certain date.

If the *mahajan* has really any mercy for the dogs, it should take possession of all the stray dogs and distribute them to those who

want to keep them. It seems to me to be impossible to protect dogs as we can protect the cows.

But there is a regular science of dog-keeping which the people in the West have formulated and perfected. We should learn it from them and devise measures for the solution of our own problem. The work cannot be done without patience, wisdom and perseverance.

So much about dogs. But with ahimsa in its comprehensive aspect I propose to deal on another occasion.

Young India, 28-10-1926

549. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

Asvina Sud 11, 1982 [*October 17, 1926*]

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Giridhari tells me that your health has still not improved. This is not good. It must improve, even if that means your going away somewhere. You should go to a place where you can live in solitude. The air should be wholesome, and you should have the right kind of companion with you. Your illness is both physical and mental. You ought not to carry an excessive burden of work.

You need not worry about Kamala. Her fever is like that of the others. She is in fact ready to go to Wardha or Bombay or any other place. But I don't feel like letting her go till she is quite all right, nor is it necessary that she should go. I see her from time to time. It is her mother-in-law about whom I feel worried, because she gets nervous, though, of course, she will certainly recover.

I hope you take regular walks. You must go out both in the morning and in the evening.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2873

550. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

Asvina Sud 11, 1982 [October 17, 1926]

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

What did you do about the matter discussed in the letter concerning sub-castes?

Now as trustee of the Madhada Ashram, you should take control of it openly.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5702

551. LETTER TO BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Asvina Sud 11, 1982 [October 17, 1926]

BHAI BENARSIDAS,

Several days have passed since I got your letter, but owing to pressure of work, I have not been able to reply to it. When did I write and say that I had committed an error in advising that 500 persons could be sent to British Guiana? Let me know where that article is. I have held back your letter from publication until after I have seen it.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2571

552. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA[1]

AHMEDABAD,
October 17, 1926

Interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press on the personnel of the Indian delegation to the Round Table Conference to be held at Cape Town in December, Mahatma Gandhi said:

I think the choice is carefully made. I like the idea of Sir Mahomed Habibullah's leading the deputation. Mr. Corbett has intimate experience of the intricate question which the Delegation is to handle. Sir Darcy Lindsay, as a representative of European commerce, should have great weight in South Africa. This Deputation would have been altogether incomplete without Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. He knows Colonial questions. He knows South African statesmen, and who can question his learning and industry? Sir Phiroze Sethna's inclusion is not difficult to understand. Sir George Paddison by his able work on the last deputation had made himself indispensable. Mr. Bajpai as Secretary was a foregone conclusion.

There are no doubt names missing, but that is not a matter of much consequence. It is enough to realize that those who are included in the delegation are all good and sound men representative of varied interests. I am anxious that this delegation, imperfect and incomplete though it may appear to some of us, should receive the moral approbation of the public. Things seem to have gone on smoothly up to now, and I am not without hope that the forthcoming Conference will give at least breathing time to the Indian settlers of South Africa as also to the Government of India if it does its duty to improve the status of the settlers. Every year of respite gained is so much gained on behalf of justice which is entirely on our side.

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-10-1926

[1] The interview was also published in some other daily newspapers.

553. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

Asvina Sud 12, 1982 [October 18, 1926]

CHI. JAMNALAL,

You must have got my letter written yesterday. If you can find time, go and visit Pratap Pandit's tannery, and ask him when he will send his man.

Kamala was thoroughly examined by Dr. Rajabali. There is no cause for anxiety. It has been decided to put her under his treatment.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2874

554. LETTER TO DR. VARDHARAJLU

October 20, 1926

DEAR DR. VARDHARAJLU,

This introduces to you Mr. and Mrs. Naidu of South Africa. They have just arrived from Natal and intend to visit the holy places.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 7193

555. TOUGH QUESTION

A fair friend who has some faith in my wisdom and sincerity asks some knotty questions which I would fain avoid for fear of raising an indignant controversy on the part of some husbands jealous of their rights. But jealous husbands would spare me, for they know that I happen to be one myself having led a fairly happy married life for the past forty years in spite of occasional jars.

The first question is apposite and timely (The original is in Marathi. I have given a free rendering.):

> Can a man or woman attain self-realization by mere recitation of *Ramanama* and without taking part in national service? I ask this question because some of my sisters say that they do not need to do anything beyond attending to family requirements and occasionally showing kindness to the poor.

This question has puzzled not only women but many men and has taxed me to the utmost. I know that there is a school of philosophy which teaches complete inaction and futility of all effort. I have not been able to appreciate that teaching unless, in order to secure verbal agreement, I were to put my own interpretation on it. In my humble opinion, effort *is* necessary for one's own growth. It has to be irrespective of results. *Ramanama* or some equivalent is necessary not for the sake of repetition but for the sake of purification, as an aid to effort, for direct guidance from above. It is, therefore, never a substitute for effort. It is meant for intensifying and guiding it in proper channel. If all effort is vain, why family cares or an occasional help to the poor? In this very effort is contained the germ of national service. And national service, to me, means service of humanity, even as disinterested service of the family means the same thing. Disinterested service of the family necessarily leads one to national service. *Ramanama* gives one detachment and ballast and never throws one off one's balance at critical moments. Self-realization I hold to be impossible without service of and identification with the poorest.

The second question is:

> In Hinduism devotion of wife to her husband and her complete merger in him is the highest aim, never mind whether the husband is a fiend or an embodiment of love. If this be the correct conduct for a wife, may she in the teeth of opposition by her husband undertake national service? Or must she only go as far as the husband will permit her to go?

My ideal of a wife is Sita and of a husband Rama. But Sita was no slave of Rama. Or each was slave of the other. Rama is ever considerate to Sita. Where there is true love, the question asked does not occur. Where there is no true love, the bond has never existed. But the Hindu household of today is a conundrum. Husbands and wives when they are married know nothing of one another. Religious sanction fortified by custom and the even flow of the lives of the married people keep the peace in the vast majority of Hindu households. But when either wife or husband holds views out of the ordinary, there is danger of

jars. In the case of the husband he has no scruples. He does not consider himself under any obligation to consult his partner's wishes. He regards his wife as his property. And the poor wife who believes in the husband's claim often suppresses herself. I think there is a way out. Mirabai has shown the way. The wife has a perfect right to take her own course and meekly brave the consequences when she knows herself to be in the right and when her resistance is for a nobler purpose.

The third question is:

> If a husband is, say, a meat-eater and the wife considers meat-eating an evil, may she follow her own bent? May she even try by all loving ways to wean her husband from meat-eating or the like? Or is she bound to cook meat for her husband or worse still, is she bound to eat it, if the husband requires her? If you say that the wife may take her own course, how can a joint household be run when the one compels and the other rebels?

This question is partly answered in the answer to the second. A wife is not bound to be an accomplice in her husband's crimes. And when she holds anything to be wrong, she must dare to do the right. But, seeing that the wife's function is to manage the household and thus to cook, as the husband's is to earn for the family, she is bound to cook meat for the family if both have been meat-eaters before. If, on the other hand, in a vegetarian family, the husband becomes a meat-eater and seeks to compel the wife to cook for him, the wife is in no way bound to cook what offends her sense of right. The peace of a household is a most desirable thing. But it cannot be an end in itself. For me, the married state is as much a state of discipline as any other. Life is duty, a probation. Married life is intended to promote mutual good both here and hereafter. It is meant also to serve humanity. When one partner breaks the law of discipline, the right accrues to the other of breaking the bond. The breach here is moral and not physical. It precludes divorce. The wife or the husband separates but to serve the end for which they had united. Hinduism regards each as absolute equal of the other. No doubt a different practice has grown up, no one knows since when. But so have many other evils crept into it. This, however, I do know that Hinduism leaves the individual absolutely free to do what he or she likes for the sake of self-realization for which and which alone he or she is born.

Young India, 21-10-1926

556. *KNOTTY PROBLEMS OF NON-VIOLENCE*

The destruction of certain dogs by a millowner, when some of them were suffering from hydrophobia and when there was danger of the employees being bitten any moment has angered members of the very influential Jain community of Ahmedabad. Having many friends among them and being regarded by many as an authority in matters of ahimsa (non-violence), I have been helplessly and reluctantly drawn into the controversy. As the matter has gone beyond the mere Gujarati-speaking public of Ahmedabad, I am presenting the readers of *Young India* with a translation of the series of articles[1] I am devoting to the subject covering as far as possible the whole wide field of ahimsa. I have no doubt that many readers of *Young India* who are interested in the theory and evolution of non-violence will welcome the translation of the series.

Young India, 21-10-1926

557. *STAND FOR NON-VIOLENCE*

A friend sends me the following cutting from the New York *Nation*:

> Some time ago (either in the latter part of 1924 or early in 1925) a band of twenty-five American missionaries in China addressed the following appeal to the American Minister at Peking:
>
> "The undersigned American missionaries are in China as messengers of the gospel of brotherhood and peace. Our task is to lead men and women into a new life in Christ, which promotes brotherhood and takes away all occasions of war. We, therefore, express our earnest desire that no form of military pressure, especially no foreign military force, be exerted to protect us or our property; and that in the event of our capture by lawless persons or our death at their hands, no money be paid for our release, no punitive expedition be sent out, and no indemnities be exacted. We take this stand believing that the way to establish righteousness and peace is through bringing the spirit of personal good-will to bear on all persons under all circumstances, even through suffering wrong without retaliation."

[1] For the first article of the series, *vide* "Is This Humanity?–I", 10-10-1926.

> The American Legation, however, replied that this petition was inconsistent with the necessity that exists for safeguarding Americans in China, and that therefore, no exception could or would be made in the procedure in case of emergencies with regard to the signers of the petition.

This is one of those instances in which two apparently contradictory positions are right at the same time. For the brave missionaries there was no other attitude possible, though, nowadays, very few adopt it. Was it not about China that a missionary deputation some thirty years ago waited on the late Lord Salisbury and asked the protection of the British gunboats for carrying their message to the unwilling Chinese? Then the late noble Marquess had to tell the missionaries that, if they sought the protection of the British arms, they must submit to international obligations and curb their missionary ardour. He reminded them that the Christians of old, if they penetrated the remotest regions of the earth, expected no protection save from God and put their lives in constant danger. In the case quoted by the New York *Nation*, the missionaries according to the report have reverted to the ancient practice.

The American Government, however, so long as it retains its present character, can only give the answer they are reported to have given. That the answer betrays the evil of the modern system is another matter. The American prestige depends not upon its moral strength but upon force. But why should the whole armed force of America be mobilized for the so-called vindication of its honour or name? What harm can accrue to the honour of America if twenty-five missionaries choose to go to China uninvited for the sake of delivering their message and get killed in the act? Probably, it would be the best thing for their mission. The American Government by its interference could only interrupt the full working of the law of suffering. But self-restraint of America would mean a complete change of outlook. Today, defence of citizenship is a defence of national commerce, i.e., exploitation. That exploitation presupposes the use of force for imposing commerce upon an unwilling people. Nations have in a sense, therefore, almost become gangs of robbers, whereas they should be a peaceful combination of men and women united for the common good of mankind. In the latter case, their strength will lie not in their skill in the use of gunpowder, but in the possession of superior moral fibre. The action of the twenty-five missionaries is a dim shadow of reconstructed society or even reconstructed

nations. I do not know whether they carried out their principle into practice in every department of life. I need hardly point out that in spite of the threat of the American Government to protect them against themselves, they could neutralize, indeed even frustrate, any effort at retaliation. But that means complete self-effacement. And if one is to combat the fetish of force, it will only be by means totally different from those in vogue among the pure worshippers of brute force.

It must not be forgotten that, after all, there is a philosophy behind the modern worship of brute force with a history to back it. The microscopic non-militant minority has, indeed, nothing to fear from it, if only it has immovable faith behind it. But faith in the possibility of holding together society without brute force seems somehow to be lacking. Yet, if one person can pit himself against the whole world, why cannot two or more do likewise together? I know the answer that has been given. Time alone can show the possibilities of the revolution that is silently creeping upon us. Speculation is waste of effort where action is already afoot. Those who have faith will join the initial effort in which demonstrable results cannot be shown.

Young India, 21-10-1926

558. ECONOMICS OF KHADDAR

At the instance of a friend, I had brief notes[1] prepared on khaddar economics. The notes ran out into many sheets and involved a fair amount of labour. But they were too comprehensive for the purpose intended. They were, therefore, recast and condensed and almost rewritten. Thus two helpers have laboured at these notes. They present in a connected and readable form the economics of khaddar and appeal to a wider public than the notes if only presented to a friend would reach. They are, therefore, being published in three instalments in these columns. The first appears this week. The readers of *Young India* may not find anything new in them but they will find the scattered arguments compressed in a series of connected chapters and within a small compass.

[1] These were published in *Young India*, 21-10-1926 and 28-10-1926 under the title "Charkha as the Only Cottage Industry".

KHADI STATISTICS

I hope the khadi workers have been carefully following the digest of khadi statistics I have been publishing from time to time. They are a valuable record and give us an indication of the progress and possibilities of khadi that nothing else can. I do hope that those who have not yet sent them will kindly furnish the information at the earliest opportunity.

Young India, 21-10-1926

559. NOTES

THE INDIAN DELEGATION

I have already expressed my opinion about Sir Mahomed Habibulla's deputation. It is a carefully made choice. I am glad to find that it has been blessed by the public. The question of the status of Indians overseas is perhaps the one question on which all parties are united. Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Parsis, etc., speak with one voice. European opinion coincides with the Indian. The Government backs public opinion. All this unity is needed if the cause of justice is to be vindicated. This remarkable unanimity of opinion cannot but react upon South African opinion.

But this unity need not be confined to the question of the status of Indians abroad. Is it too much to wish to extend it to other equally natural and pure causes? Or is unity possible only on questions remote in space from the actors? True unity comes of itself. No attempt had to be made for achieving unity of opinion on the South African question. All instinctively thought alike. Unity on other matters will also come instinctively when its time has come. I am optimistic enough to think that it is coming sooner than many of us expect or imagine.

But let us return to the deputation. The settlers in South Africa have in Mr. C. F. Andrews a link between the deputation and themselves as also between the Union Government and themselves. Let them make the most of the opportunity that has presented itself to them. They must unite all their forces. The best workers among them should collect all the material and place it at Mr. Andrews's disposal. They should understand the limits of the deputation and they must be as firm in their presentation of their claim as one expects them to be moderate.

Moderation, firmness and unity combined with absolute adherence to truth should make victory easily possible.

Congress Exhibition

Exhibitions used formerly to be a feature of the National Congress. They had then ceased to be. The fashion was revived in Ahmedabad and has been since continued with progressive improvement. The central feature of these exhibitions has been khaddar with all the hand-processes through which cotton passes before it comes out as khaddar. The feature of these exhibitions has been the inclusion of only those things which have been manufactured in India from start to finish. They have, therefore, excluded so-called swadeshi watches or harmoniums whose every part was imported from outside. They have also excluded all mill-spun yarn and mill-woven cloth. These exhibitions are meant for the encouragement of those things which are neglected and which deserve encouragement. No one will hold an exhibition for showing faggots of wood which everyone knows and uses. But there would be an exhibition of wood that possessed extraordinary virtue which needed to be brought to the notice of the people. Faggots of ordinary wood would be excluded not out of any jealousy of them but because attention would be divided between extraordinary wood needing advertisement and protection and the wood that had no such need. I was, therefore, surprised when a correspondent drew my attention to the Assam Exhibition Committee having included in the exhibits cotton fabrics woven on power-looms and out of mill-spun yarn. The description of the items does not exclude even foreign cloth or yarn. I telegraphed to the Committee. The reader will be glad to know that the Committee promptly replied[1] to the effect that the inclusion of mill-spun yarn, etc., was due to a mistake and that it was being immediately corrected.[2] I congratulate the Committee upon its admission and readiness to correct the error. I may state that the description of other goods too is so loose and wide as to include almost every conceivable thing. If these Congress exhibitions are to be an education to the people, an encouragement to struggling home industries and a demonstration of the possibilities of khaddar, the limits that the previous exhibitions have observed should be rigidly adhered to.

Young India, 21-10-1926

[1] & [2] *Vide* "Letter to Kshitish Chandra Das Gupta", 14-10-1926.

560. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

October 21, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter after ages as it were. I did suspect that you were not getting on as well as I had expected. But whether I can help or not, you should share your sorrows with me. If I know the best, I must know also the worst. Do please, therefore, let me know what are the unexpected difficulties.

I have read the cutting from the *Englishman*. We know that khaddar has not become popular. When it does, we shall not be long in getting what we want.

I note your remarks on the Khadi Service.

Varadachari did ask me to ask you to write the chapter on cotton. I told him not to worry you. I knew that your hands must be full.

With love to you all,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1562

561. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

Asvina Sud 15, 1982 [*October 21, 1926*]

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter. This is not the time to start an Ashram such as you have described. The atmosphere is very foul. Workers have neither intelligence nor character.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRIJUT GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
C/O HINDU SABHA
GORAKHPUR

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6137. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

562. *LETTER TO CHIMANLAL G. VORA*

Asvina Sud 15, 1982 [*October 21, 1926*]

BHAI CHIMANLALJI,

I have your letter. *Shad-darshan-samuchchayagranth* is a discussion of Buddhism, Vedant, etc. The original work is in Sanskrit. Its Gujarati translation has been published. It may be available with some bookseller selling Gujarati books. It is a difficult work, and is purely an intellectual exercise.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRIYUT CHIMANLAL GULABCHAND VORA
SHRIMALI MOHALLA
RATLAM

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6301

563. *LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA*

SABARMATI,
Asvina Krishnapaksha 2, 1982 [*October 23, 1926*]

BHAI BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. Dharma is a subtle subject. No person can teach another what his dharma is. Just today I was explaining one *shloka* to women. It says that what learned and good men, who are free from likes and dislikes, regard as dharma and what appeals to our heart to be so is dharma. I am neither a learned man nor am I free from likes and dislikes. I am striving to be good. I feel that, if you have the spiritual strength, you should leave your home and earn what you can through honest means and, if you can spare anything from it, then give it to your brother. Therein lies the service of your family. Be alone and consult the Lord of your heart and do as He bids you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2369

564. LETTER TO TULSI MAHER

Asvina Krishnapaksha 2, 1982 [October 23, 1926]

CHI. TULSI MAHER,

I have your letters. I am happy every time to read that you keep good health. Quite a few people are ill here these days. How is the weather there? In all, how many charkhas are plying?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6527

565. TELEGRAM TO SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

[SABARMATI,
On or after *October 23, 1926*][1]

SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

IS ANY TRUTH RUMOUR SHASTRI UNABLE GO AFRICA THROUGH ILLNESS.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 12025

566. IS THIS HUMANITY?-III

[October 24, 1926]

Whilst I admit the possibility of having made a mistake in giving the opinion that the destruction by Mr. Ambalal's order of sixty dogs was unavoidable, I do not regret having expressed that opinion. The result so far is all to the good. We shall perhaps now understand more clearly our duty to such animals. Much wrong has been done partly out of ignorance, partly from hypocrisy and partly for fear of public opinion. All that should now cease.

[1] This telegram was in reply to C. F. Andrews's cable from Durban dated October 20, 1926, received at Sabarmati on October 23, 1926, which read: *Natal Witness* publishes Sastri unable come owing sudden illness. Have you information? Community very anxious.

But if the good is to be maintained, a clear understanding is necessary between the readers and myself. I have received quite a pile of letters on the subject, some friendly, some sharp and some bitter. They do not seem to have understood my attitude on the destruction of dogs by Mr. Ambalal. I have often had the misfortune to be misunderstood. In South Africa my life was in peril over an action which was quite consistent with my avowed principles but which, as was proved later, was rashly regarded as contrary to them.[1] The so-called "Himalayan blunder" of Bardoli is a recent memory. The Bombay Government very kindly imprisoned me at Yeravda and saved me the trouble of much writing by way of explaining and clearing my position. The Bardoli decision, I still hold, was not wrong. It was, on the contrary, an act of purest ahimsa and of invaluable service to the country. I feel just as clear about my opinion regarding the present question. I hold that the opinion is perfectly in accord with my conception of ahimsa.

The critics, whether friendly or hostile, should bear with me. Some of the hostile critics have transgressed the limits of decorum. They have made no attempt to understand my position. It seems they cannot for a moment tolerate my opinion. Now they must be one of two things. They are either my teachers or they regard me as one. In the latter case, they should be courteous and patient and should have faith in me and ponder over what I write. In the former case, they should be indulgent to me and try to reason with me as lovingly and patiently as they can. I teach the children under my care not by being angry with them, but I teach them, if at all, by loving them, by allowing for their ignorance, and by playing with them. I expect the same love, the same consideration and the same sportsmanlike spirit from my angry teachers. I have given my opinion with regard to the dogs with the best of motives and as a matter of duty. If I am mistaken, let the critics who would teach me reason with me patiently and logically. Angry and irrelevant argument will not convince me.

A gentleman called on me the other evening at a late hour. He knew that my time was completely occupied. He engaged me in a discussion, used hard and bitter language, and poured vials of wrath on me. I answered his questions in good humour

[1] The reference is to the assaults made on Gandhiji in 1908 by his Indian followers under the belief that he had compromised with the Smuts Government; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 75-6.

and politely. He has published the interview in a leaflet which he is selling. It is before me. It has crossed the limits of truth, obviously of decorum. He had neither obtained my permission to publish the interview nor showed it to me before publication. Does he seek to teach me in this manner? He who trifles with truth cuts at the root of ahimsa. He who is angry is guilty of ahimsa. How can such a man teach me ahimsa?

Even so the hostile critics are doing me a service. They teach me to examine myself. They afford me an opportunity to see if I am free from the reaction of anger. And when I go to the root of their anger, I find nothing but love. They have attributed to me ahimsa as they understand it. Now they find me acting in a contrary manner and are angry with me. They once regarded me as a mahatma, they were glad that my influence on the people was according to their liking. Now I am an *alpatma* (a little soul) in their opinion; my influence on the people they now regard as unwholesome and they are pained by the discovery; and as they cannot control themselves, they turn the feeling of pain into one of anger.

I do not mind this outburst of anger, as I appreciate the motive behind it. I must try to reason with them patiently, and if they would help me in my attempt, I request them to calm their anger. I am a votary of truth and seeker after it. If I am convinced that I am mistaken I shall admit my mistake (as I always love to do), and shall promptly mend it. It is the word of the scriptures that the mistakes of a votary of truth never harm anybody. That is the glorious secret of truth.

Just a word to friendly critics: I have preserved your letters. I usually reply to my correspondents individually. But the number of letters I have received this time and have been still getting is so large and they are so inordinately long that I cannot possibly reply to them individually. I cannot, I fear, make time even to acknowledge them. Some of the correspondents ask me to publish their letters in *Navajivan*. I hope they will not press the request. I shall try to answer all the arguments that are relevant as well as I can, and hope that that will satisfy them.

I bespeak the indulgence of the reader for this necessary preface. I shall now take up some of the letters before me.

A friend says:

> You ask us not to feed stray dogs. But we do not invite them. They simply come. How can they be turned back? It will be time enough when there is a plethora of them. But is there any doubt that

feeding dogs cultivates the impulse of compassion and turning them away hardens our hearts? We are all sinners. Why should we not practise what little kindness we can?

It is from this false feeling of compassion that we encourage *himsa* in the name of ahimsa. But as ignorance is no excuse before man-made law, even so is it no excuse before the divine Law.

But let us analyse the argument. We cast a morsel at the beggar come to our door, and feel that we have earned some merit, but we really thereby add to the number of beggars, aggravate the evil of beggary, encourage idleness and consequently promote irreligion. This does not mean that we should starve the really deserving beggars. It is the duty of society to support the blind and the infirm, but everyone may not take the task upon himself. The head of the society, i.e., the *mahajan* or the State where it is well organized, should undertake the task, and the philanthropically inclined should subscribe funds to such an institution. If the *mahajan* is pure-minded and wise, it will carefully investigate the condition of beggars and protect the deserving ones. When this does not happen, i.e., when relief is indiscriminate, scoundrels disguised as beggars get the benefit of it and the poverty of the land increases.

If it is thus a sin on the part of an individual to undertake feeding beggars, it is no less a sin for him to feed stray dogs. It is a false sense of compassion. It is an insult to the starving dog to throw a crumb at him. Roving dogs do not indicate the civilization or compassion of the society, they betray, on the contrary, the ignorance and lethargy of its members. The lower animals are our brethren. I include among them the lion and the tiger. We do not know how to live with these carnivorous beasts and poisonous reptiles because of our ignorance. When man knows himself better, he will learn to befriend even these. Today he does not even know how to befriend a man of a different religion or from a foreign country.

The dog is a faithful companion. There are numerous instances of the faithfulness of dogs and horses. But that means that we should keep them and treat them with respect as we do our companions and not allow them to roam about. By aggravating the evil of stray dogs we shall not be acquitting ourselves of our duty to them. But if we regard the existence of stray dogs as a shame to us and, therefore, refuse to feed them, we shall be doing the dogs as a class a real service and make them happy.

What, then, can a humane man do for stray dogs? He should set apart a portion of his income and send it on to a society for the protection of those animals if there be one. If such a society is impossible—and I know it is very difficult even if it is not impossible—he should try to own one or more dogs. If he cannot do so, he should give up worrying about the question of dogs and direct his humanity towards the service of other animals.

"But you are asking us to destroy them?" is the question angrily or lovingly asked by others. Now, I have not suggested the extirpation of dogs as an absolute duty. I have suggested the killing of some dogs as a "duty in distress" and under certain circumstances. When the State does not care for stray dogs, nor does the *mahajan*, and when one is not prepared to take care of them oneself, then, and if one regards them as a danger to society, one should kill them and relieve them from a lingering death. This is a bitter dose, I agree. But it is my innermost conviction that true love and compassion consist in taking it.

The dogs in India are today in as bad a plight as the decrepit animals and men in the land. It is my firm conviction that this sorry plight is due to our misconception of ahimsa, is due to our want of ahimsa. Practice of ahimsa cannot have as its result impotence, impoverishment and famine. If this is a sacred land we should not see impoverishment stalking it. From this state of things some rash and impatient souls have drawn the conclusion that ahimsa is irreligion. But I know that it is not ahimsa that is wrong, it is its votaries that are wrong.

Ahimsa is the religion of a Kshatriya. Mahavira was a Kshatriya, Buddha was a Kshatriya, Rama and Krishna were Kshatriyas and all of them were votaries of ahimsa. We want to propagate ahimsa in their name. But today ahimsa has become the monopoly of timid Vaisyas[1] and that is why it has been besmirched. Ahimsa is the extreme limit of forgiveness. But forgiveness is the quality of the brave. Ahimsa is impossible without fearlessness.

Cows we cannot protect, dogs we kick about and belabour with sticks, their ribs are seen sticking out, and yet we are not ashamed of ourselves and raise a hue and cry when a stray dog is killed. Which of the two is better—that five thousand dogs should wander about in semi-starvation, living on dirt and excreta and drag on a miserable existence, or that fifty should die

[1] The source here has "Vaishnavas"; *vide* Vol. XXXII, "A Correction", 11-11-1926.

and keep the rest in a decent condition? It is admittedly sinful always to be spurning and kicking the dogs. But it is possible that the man who kills the dogs that he cannot bear to see tortured thus may be doing a meritorious act. Merely taking life is not always *himsa*, one may even say that there is sometimes more *himsa* in not taking life. We must examine this position in another article.

Young India, 4-11-1926

567. LETTER TO ROBERT SHEMELD

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 24, 1926

DEAR MR. SHEMELD,

Your letter[1] was an agreeable surprise. You remind me of happy communions of 30 years ago. I have a vivid recollection of your face and Mrs. Shemeld's.

I do not need to tell you anything about my life here as it has become an open book. I have looked at your War Manifesto[2]. Quite like you. Please remember me to Mrs. Shemeld.

Yours sincerely,

ROBERT SHEMELD, ESQ.
308, THE ATHERTON
2112 F STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

From a photostat: S.N. 10832

[1] Writing this on September 14, the correspondent had said: "Your frequent visits in our humble missionary home at Pretoria were a pleasure still green in our memory although thirty years have passed since we last met you" (S.N. 10810).

[2] Shemeld had enclosed a petition which he "had printed at Pretoria in 1900 in an endeavour to prevent further bloodshed but which was not favoured by many except missionaries." The reference was to the Boer War.

568. LETTER TO FELIX VALYI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Much as I would like to write for your monthly review, I am so overworked just now that I have resolved not to write for any magazine for some time to come. If I ever get moments of leisure and I am duly reminded, I would write something later for you. But it may be all hoping against hope.

Yours sincerely,

FELIX VALYI, ESQ.
HOTEL RICHMOND
GENEVA (SWITZERLAND)

From a photostat: S.N. 10833

569. LETTER TO ELSE GIESE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter[1] through my friend Mr. Deshpande of Baroda. I feel thankful to God that my writings give solace to friends all over the world.

Yours sincerely,

MADAM ELSE GIESE
BERLIN SW 11,
PRINZ ULBRECHT-STRASSE 5

From a photostat: S.N. 19722

[1] In her letter of August 25, 1926, the correspondent wrote of her having read with great interest the collection of Gandhiji's articles from *Young India*, and her wanting to write an article on the part khaddar played in the national movement (S.N. 10804).

570. LETTER TO WADHOOMAL MANGHIRMAL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am sorry for your misfortune. I can only advise you to bear it bravely and think no more of the one who used to be your wife at one time. What does a woman do when her husband lives with other women? She simply submits and is still content to live with her so-called husband. You do not need to do that. You should devote your energy to bringing up the children she has left behind.

Yours sincerely,

WADHOOMAL MANGHIRMAL, ESQ.
AERATED WATER SHOPKEEPER
SEHWAN (BIHAR)

From a microfilm: S.N. 19723

571. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL CHOKSI

Monday, October 24, 1926

BHAISHRI NAJUKLAL,

I have your letter. I am sending on the letters meant for Velanbehn and Moti. Please do take the injection. We can draw no conclusion from the fact that one person died after taking it. Having put yourself under a doctor's treatment, it is but right that you should put your trust in him. If he is confident, we should have no fear at all. Moti simply forgot to tell me about the matter. She told me that you had refused to take the injection, but said nothing about your having asked for my advice.

I find it a difficult task to cure her of her carelessness and lethargy. I cannot spare enough time for that. Of course, I had a talk with her the very first day. I may be able to do something only if I keep her with me. But she also may not be ready for that. I am sorry I cannot give her as much time as I should like to.

It is her old complaint from which Velanbehn has been suffering. She is living on fruits and milk on my advice. This

may have brought on a little weakness, but there is certainly some relief in her complaint. There is no cause for anxiety at all. Your necessity comes first, and so, if you require her, do let me know by all means.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12138

572. LETTER TO MOHANLAL MANGALDAS SHAH

THE ASHRAM,
October 24, 1926

BHAISHRI MOHANLAL MANGALDAS SHAH,

Self-realization means that we should know all selves to be ourselves. You should consult the Dweller within to know how you may live your life to the best end.

If you wish to see God, you should forget yourself, even if that means the end of your life the very next day.

If you dedicate every action to Rama, you will spontaneously have his name on your lips every moment.

The vow of silence helps in the search for truth. To keep it, one should refrain from speaking or from communicating anything by writing, or do it only for immediate practical purposes.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

MOUN BHUVAN
AT ALINA
TALUKA NADIAD

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19955

573. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI PURUSHOTTAM

October 24, 1926

BHAISHRI BHAGWANJI,

I had your letters. I will write in *Navajivan* about untouchability when I get time. As I could not act as our respectable and worthy leaders of society would in regard to the dog, I gave my opinion that a dog could be killed in certain circumstances and subject to certain restrictions. I have neither the inclination nor the time to study the Western science about dogs. The subject of non-violence is not as simple as you seem to think it is. If we may not kill dogs, what sin have plants committed? Ponder over the meaning of this question, and treat dogs as you might treat plants. But more in *Navajivan*.

Blessings from
BAPU

BHAISHRI BHAGWANJI PURUSHOTTAM
CHARKHA, *Via* BABRA
KATHIAWAR

From a microfilm: S.N. 19956

574. SPEECH AT LABOUR UNION, AHMEDABAD[1]

[October 24, 1926]

In this meeting only the representatives have been called in view of my resolve not to go out during the year unless there is some specific reason. I have not called all the workers to this meeting, so that the subjects which we cannot discuss in a large meeting can be discussed in this small meeting. I have thirty-five years of experience of directing the affairs of public societies. And it is our general habit to spend as much as we get and not to accumulate, though you can spend as much as you like. Even if you collect Rs. 1 crore, in my opinion, your institution will deteriorate like other institutions. On the contrary whatever you

[1] Gandhiji who was presiding over the annual meeting held at the Ashram spoke after Gulzarilal Nanda, secretary of the Union, had presented the report for 1925.

spend for your workers you would get it back with compound interest. You demand bonus from the mills, but the millowners say that they have not enough money to declare bonus. Let me tell you that unless you give up drinking and other vices, your demands will not have the least effect on your superiors. The remedy to remove your grievances is in your hands. If you wish to bring swaraj in the mills, you will have to put an end to all your vices. You should work with full enthusiasm in the mills as if you were the owners of the mill. And you should so organize your Union that not a single worker remains out of it. Your Union is well known in India; you must not, therefore, become unduly proud of it. This Union is regarded as the best in India because it is so well organized. But you must not rest until you have removed the defects that have come to your knowledge. There is no end to progress.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 31-10-1926

575. *MESSAGE TO "FORWARD"*

I wish *Forward* many happy returns. The longer young men like Subhash Bose are denied the right of a fair trial and yet kept under lock and key, the quicker is our pace towards our goal. Fight for freedom is no mock affair. It is so real and so terrible that it will require the best of thousands of us. Let us not grudge the price.

M. K. GANDHI

Forward, 25-10-1926

576. *LETTER TO MR. AND MRS. POLAK*

SABARMATI,
October 26, 1926

MY DEAR HENRY AND MILLIE,

Though your first cable had prepared me for the worst, the reality gave me a great shock. Ba was with me for some talk when the second cable was received. She could perceive the shock I felt. I hope you duly received both my cables[1]. I am anxious

[1] These are not available.

to know that you got them because I wanted you to feel that I was a sharer of your sorrows.

You know that he did write to me one and only love letter in reply to mine. I could trace in that letter the same imperious will I knew so well when he was my bed-fellow. My faith in the immortality of the soul is more stable than ever. I know, therefore, that it is all well with him. "Death is but a sleep and a forgetting." This is no poetic phrase with me and you. It is for Waldo[1] a stepping stone to a higher life. May you, therefore, have the strength to bear the loss and find comfort in the thought that we must all go where Waldo has gone.

All join me in sending you love.

Yours,
BHAI

From a photostat: S.N. 10834

577. LETTER C. F. ANDREWS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 26, 1926

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have replied your cable. Shastri is certainly coming.[2]

I hope you are keeping quite well and fit. I can't too often repeat to you: 'Be careful for nothing.' The deputation is, I think, quite nice and should produce a good impression.

All your commandments were fulfilled. I had a nice reply from the Metropolitan.

Poor Henry! I have just got a cable to say that he has lost Waldo. Millie will be deeply cut up. But she is a brave woman and will soon recover from the shock.

Yours,
MOHAN

[PS.]

Will you please look up Mrs. P. K. Naidu when you go to Johannesburg and find out, too, how she is being supported? Ramachandran has gone to the National Muslim University at Delhi to teach spinning and Shanti is about to leave for Singa-

[1] Polak's eldest son

[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Servants of India Society", on or after 23-10-1926.

pore in search of a living as he wishes to support the girl whom he expects some day to marry. Devdas is still at Mussoorie, Krishnadas still in Bengal and Pyarelal still with Mathuradas. We are having a fair share of malaria. But the patients are on the road to recovery.

M

REV. C. F. ANDREWS
DURBAN

From a photostat: S.N. 12025a

578. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

Asvina Vad 6, 1982 [*October 26, 1926*][1]

BHAI DEVCHANDBHAI,

It is necessary to think and decide whether cotton should be stocked next year.

Ch. Jaisukhlal[2] writes to say that, if we wish to hold a khadi exhibition at the time of the Conference[3] we should start preparing for it from now on. I too think so.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5704

579. LETTER TO UDIT MISHRA

THE ASHRAM,
Asvina Krishnapaksha 6, 1982 [*October 26, 1926*]

BHAI UDIT MISHRAJI,

I have your letter.

I am of the view that we should save our boys from the present-day schools. If we get a good teacher, it is better to place the boys in his charge. It would be best, of course, to have a good school.

Our actions in past lives are no doubt the chief cause of our being involved in the concerns of our present life. When I used to travel third-class, there were many occasions when I cleaned

[1] The postmark bears the date 27-10-1926.
[2] Jaisukhlal Gandhi, Gandhiji's nephew
[3] The Kathiawar Political Conference

compartment dirtied by passengers. Some felt ashamed and stopped dirtying it, and some just did not care to take any notice.

When I first went to Rajendrababu's place, he was in Puri. He did not even know that I had gone to his place, nor did I know him personally. His servant treated me as he would a poor man. I was dressed like one, and the servant was not at fault at all. Rajendrababu met me a few days afterwards in Muzaffarpur.

Kindly write nothing about these matters, nothing at any rate of names and places.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SJT. UDIT MISHRA
BIRLA PARK
BALLYGUNJ
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19958

580. *LETTER TO ESTHER MENON*

[SABARMATI,
October 27, 1926][1]

MY DEAR CHILD,

My blessings on the addition to the family. Hope you and the baby are steadily progressing. Any of the names suggested by you is good. The shorter the better.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat of the original in N.A.I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 79

[1] From the postmark

581. *LETTER TO LALAN PANDIT*

THE ASHRAM,
October 27, 1926

BHAISHRI LALAN,

I got your letters. The previous two will be answered in *Navajivan* as occasion arises. But the one I got today is addressed specially to me. I have endured praises of me all these years; should I not, then, endure some censure? I am not out to propagate a new religion. But I certainly wish to revive an old one. It rests with God, however, to fulfil my wish.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

C/o SHETH CHHOTALAL MULKCHAND
HATHIBHAI'S WADI, ANNEXE
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19957

582. *NOTES*

TO JOURNALIST FRIENDS

Applications for articles for journals and magazines in and out of India are daily pouring in upon me. Things have come to such a pass that I must either leave *Young India* and *Navajivan* editing or respectfully refuse to write for other papers. Since I must not, so long as there are enough subscribers and I have energy, give up *Young India* or *Navajivan*, I have been forced to stop writing for other papers. The fact is I have not the ability to write at will on any and every subject. My field is very limited and even on the subjects I am familiar with, I cannot always be original. I have no false notions about the efficacy of my writings. On the contrary I know that often the unwritten word is more forcible and truer than the written or the spoken word. Let the sum of our acts speak. The continuous multiplication of ephemeral literature is growing into a terrible nuisance which I must not assist to increase, even if I cannot do anything to stop or regulate it.

A Warning

Of late many young men have been coming to the Satyagraha Ashram, without warning, and without permission, either to stay for a short time or to be admitted as candidates for membership. Much as the management would like to find room for all who choose to come, whether as visitors or candidate members, it is physically impossible even to make the attempt. The Ashram is at present taxed to its utmost capacity and the management has been obliged to put off even friends who had sought previous permission and intended to find their own expenses. It is improper for young men to come without notice and permission. During the past fortnight, four such young men have come. And what was more grievous still was that they did not even bring enough to pay their way back. The last was an M.A., who said he came with the view of joining the Ashram, but on the way, altered his decision and thought he would stay for a few days and study the Ashram life. He had brought with him no credentials and had not enough money on his person to buy a return ticket. I had to harden my heart and tell him that he could not stay at the Ashram without having obtained previous permission. It is incomprehensible to me that well-educated young men should not know the ordinary courtesies of life and the laws of hospitality. I know that there is an evil reputation about the Ashram. Visitors who have come without notice have sometimes told me that they thought that the Ashram was the one place in India where people could go without permission and find a warm welcome. It is therefore as well for young men to realize that the Ashram cannot live up to any such expectation and that it is but an ordinary human institution striving to reach its ideals and ever failing to do so. The members would be satisfied if it could be said of them that they had tried their best to realize the ideals they had subscribed to.

About Fasting

'A Precisionist' writes:

> A devoted and careful filer as I am of your paper, I have to draw your attention to the following dictum in its issue of 30-9-26: "Fasting can be resorted to only against one's nearest and dearest, and that for his or her good."[1]

[1] *Vide* "Satyagraha—True and False", 12-9-1926. An English translation of this by Mahadev Desai appeared in *Young India*, 30-9-1926.

> From your previous writings, however, it would appear that there is one important exception to this. Fasting or hunger-striking in prison against humiliating treatment, as in case food is offered in an insulting manner, is also true satyagraha. I wish you had not lost sight of this while writing to an enquirer on the ethics of "Satyagraha—True and False".

If the instance quoted by 'A Precisionist' is an exception, I could quote many others. A man may fast for penance, purification and for considerations of physical health. More such instances can perhaps be given. But in the first case, I have pointed out the limits of satyagrahic fasting, i.e., when you *seek* to influence people by fasting. The so-called exception is a dissimilar case. There the protest was against the felt humiliation. In "Satyagraha—True and False", emphasis was put on the evil of fasting against a person to make him pay what the fasting person considered was his due and the opponent considered not to be due.

HINDU AND HINDUISM

A correspondent who is a patient and diligent reader of *Young India* writes:

> Replying to the catechism of 'An Assistant Executive Engineer' in your issue of 14-10-26, you say: "In a concerete manner *he is a Hindu who believes in God,* immortality of the soul, etc."
>
> On reading this I am tempted to confront you with your own writing of nearly two years ago. In *Young India* of April 24, 1924, p. 136,[1] you wrote: "If I were asked to define the Hindu creed I should simply say: 'Search after Truth through non-violent means. *A man may not believe in God and still call himself a Hindu.* Hinduism is a relentless pursuit after Truth.' "
>
> The Italics in both quotations are mine.

I am surprised that the correspondent does not see the distinction between the two statements. One refers to a Hindu in a concrete manner. Denial of the existence of God is not a characteristic of Hinduism. Millions of Hindus do believe in God. Therefore one may say 'there are Hindus who believe in God, etc.' But 'a man may not believe in God and still call himself a Hindu'. In the second case I have attempted an exhaustive definition. In the first case, I have given a fairly general illustration. I, therefore, see no conflict between the two positions.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXIII, p. 485.

CUSTOMS EXACTIONS

A passenger who has recently returned from South Africa asked me if it was not possible to undo the evil of extortions that regularly take place in the Customs Department. Although his luggage contained nothing taxable, he said he had to give a bribe in order to get the clearance in time. I asked him if he would give enough time and trouble to the matter and face an inquiry. He said he could not do so. This attitude is normal and explains the existence of the exactions which are not only to be found in the customs but also on railways. Whilst it is true that the public must be prepared to suffer temporary inconveniences, if they want redress, it is up to the authorities to prevent so far as it is humanly possible exactions which poor people have to suffer. It will not be a bad thing for some public-spirited young men to submit themselves to these exactions and then report them to the proper quarters. A few such cases will lessen the evil. The only way to the eradication of the evil is no doubt an incorruptible public. So long as there are people who would evade customs dues, so long will there be customs officials who will want their price.

Young India, 28-10-1926

583. A BOON TO CULTIVATORS

Some months ago Sjt. Ramachandran of Madras, an agricultural graduate, wrote to me to recommend his well-lift for use in the Ashram. He claimed for it great saving of labour to the animals used in the ordinary contrivances and also saving in cost. The invention attracted me and I wrote to the inventor telling him that if he came himself and successfully installed the lift, the lift would be bought. He promptly responded and his invention has been at work at the Ashram for over a month. Everyone who knows anything of agriculture at the Ashram is thoroughly satisfied with the working of the lift. To make assurance doubly sure, I had it examined by an engineer, who too considered the invention to be quite sound and extremely ingenious. This is what the inventor has to say for his invention:

> I am convinced that rapid extension of well-irrigation for our dry lands which form 80 per cent of the arable lands in India is the real solution for the agricultural problem of India. The income from dry land does not exceed Rs. 30 an acre, while the same land when irrigated

from a well produced crops worth Rs. 200 to 1000 per acre, providing ample work for a number of families all the year round. The chief difficulty in the way is that costly pairs of bullocks are necessary, they often suffer from yoke-galls, badly deteriorate in health and that their efficiency is very low. With a view to solve this difficulty, nearly 14 years ago I began my experiments and trials, and placed before the market this humble contrivance, now working on the Ashram well. The new contrivance is only the ordinary *kos* known also as *charas*, *mot* or *kavalai* with reduced friction in the ramp or the inclined plane by the use of a trolley on a railed incline for generating power by the mere weight of an animal. Just as a bicycle helps a man to go 12 miles an hour while he can walk only 3 miles an hour, this trolley helps the animal to do 4 times as much work as the same animal would do in the ordinary way. This great reduction in friction has enabled only one animal instead of two to lift each time almost the same quantity of water as in the ordinary way, without any waste of energy in pulling. This single animal being relieved from pulling lifts double the number of buckets per hour. So the quantity of water lifted in the R. Lift should not be judged by the mere shape and size of the bucket nor by the effort and number of animals used, but by the actual capacity of the bucket multiplied by the number of buckets lifted per hour.

It has been tested and recorded all over India by experts that a good pair of bulls worth Rs. 300 to 400 lift only 1,600 gallons per hour from a depth of 20 feet. I have been demonstrating in the Ashram as I have been doing elsewhere how a male buffalo (purchased by the Ashram for Rs. 31) has been lifting 2,000 gallons per hour (60 buckets of 32 gallons each per hour) from a depth of 34 feet, whereas two costly bullocks in our time-honoured lift can draw a little over 1,000 gallons per hour (30 buckets of 35 gallons each per hour). I have demonstrated and convinced more than 20 officers of the Madras Agricultural and Industrial Departments in vain at an enormous cost to me during the last 11 years. Dr. Clouston during my demonstration of this lift at Nagpur admitted and highly appreciated the simplicity of the mechanism, high efficiency and the humane mode of applying animal power.

The cost of the whole appliance is Rs. 275 for a depth of 50 feet, but Sjt. Ramachandran says that if the lift became popular, the price could be further reduced. For the depth of 30 ft. it costs only Rs. 230. With a suitable organization the lift could be made available to any cultivator in India for Rs. 150. I have also suggested that if the patent rights are given up or if the parts that can be locally had are so made or purchased, there might be still further reduction. Add to the present cost of the R. Lift the cost of a male buffalo, say Rs. 30. The whole lift

would cost no more than Rs. 305. The cost of a pair of bullocks would range from Rs. 300 to 400. The greatest saving is however effected in the monthly expenditure. The upkeep of a pair of bullocks would be Rs. 50 to 60, whereas that of a male buffalo would be Rs. 20 to 25. The greatest use of the invention lies in the immense saving of labour to animals, and a still greater lies in the work that can be taken from the male buffalo who for want of use is in the vast majority of cases cruelly left to perish where he is not actually butchered.

The wonder, therefore, is that this invention has not attracted the attention of the Government. Sjt. Ramachandran has many bitter complaints to make about the indifference of the authorities whom he approached. But I have preferred not to make any but a passing reference to his complaints. Let those who wish visit the Ashram and see the lift at work at the Ashram every morning. As much water is not required at the present moment, the lift is not kept at work the whole day. But it will be working between 8 and 10 a.m. always, and will be in charge of the inventor himself who will gladly explain all about it.

A friend writing to me about the Agricultural Exhibition in Poona says:

> I see here piles of machinery and tools most of which we can never use. I miss the thing which is a boon to man and animal in India. I mean the Ramachandran Lift.

I do not know enough of agriculture, as the friend does, to warrant his enthusiasm, but I know enough to be able to say that this lift requires examination by everyone who is at all interested in the agricultural problems of India.

Young India, 28-10-1926

584. CONDOLENCES

I join my respectful condolences to those already conveyed to the staff and family of the late editor of *The Hindu*—S. Rangaswami Iyengar. This death, closely following Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar's, is a heavy blow to Indian journalism.

The reader will be grieved to learn that Mr. H. S. L. Polak has just lost his eldest son, Waldo. Early in the week a cable was received from Mr. Polak telling me of Waldo's serious illness. It was followed only two days later by another, announcing the

sudden death. The parents' grief, I know, will be shared by many who have known Mr. and Mrs. Polak as friends of India.

Young India, 28-10-1926

585. LETTER TO EDITOR, "ROMAIN ROLLAND BIRTHDAY-BOOK"

[Before *October 29, 1926*]

My difficulty was my unfitness to find myself among those men of letters whose contributions you have invited. This is no mock modesty, but my innermost feeling. I am unfit also because, I confess, I knew practically nothing about our good friend before he imposed upon himself the task of becoming my self-chosen advertiser. And you will be perhaps amazed to know that now too, my acquaintance with him is confined to a very cursory glance at that booklet regarding myself. The work before me leaves me no time to read the things I would like to. I have, therefore, even now, not been able to read any of his great works.[1]

Romain Rolland, p. 160

586. LETTER TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

SABARMATI,
October 29, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Mira has given me a good translation of your beautiful letter.[2] I think I understand and appreciate its spirit fully. I would have gladly gone to Helsingfors had I not felt that the invitation was prompted and not spontaneous. There were other reasons. I waited for the call from within, it did not come. I give you my assurance that I shall not resist it when it comes.

I fear my estimate of your book was not quite correctly reproduced. I knew that you wrote from the deepest conviction.

[1] Reproduced from *Romain Rolland Birthday-Book* published by Rotoppel-Verlag, Zurich, 1926

[2] The letter addressed to Mirabehn was dated September 26, 1926; *vide* Appendix VII (S.N. 12174).

One thing more I would like to have off my mind. In the album presented to you, I am one of the contributors. The Poet has sent me the message that my description of you as my self-chosen advertiser has given you offence. I can only give you my assurance that the expression was used as a mark of my affection for you and my unworthiness to deserve your attention. It may be difficult for the man in the street to believe, but cannot be for you, when I say that I simply do not understand the fuss that is made about my qualities. And I have no false modesty about me.

I do expect to meet you in the flesh some day and that in the best of health.[1]

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 12175

587. *LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI*

[SABARMATI,]
October 29, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

It was a great relief to me when Vaze replied that you fully intended to go to S.A.[2] Andrews sent a cable telling me that there was a rumour of your illness and consequent cancellation of your membership and that the rumour had greatly upset our people. Your letter now sets all doubt at rest. I sent a reassuring cable to Andrews immediately on Vaze's wire.

I quite agree with you that not much is to be expected from the conference. But I am not without hope that our people will have some breathing time.

The opinion I have expressed upon the killing of stray dogs has indeed estranged many from me. But that has ever been my lot. I know that the latest storm will pass like its predecessors.

I do hope you are keeping excellent health and that you will be able to retain it during the trying times ahead of you in S.A. Andrews and I set much store by your being in the depu-

[1] Gandhiji met Romain Rolland in Switzerland in 1931 on his way back home from the Second Round Table Conference in London.

[2] As a member of the Indian deputation to South Africa

tation. Somehow or other your inclusion has given me a feeling of safety.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

RT. HON'BLE V. S. SASTRI

From a photostat: S.N. 12028

588. LETTER TO K. VISVA EASAN

October 29, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have read the cutting sent by you. I do think that the cruelty to the cat was abominable and in a State regulated by a system of punishments, the punishment would be justified.

SJT. K. VISVA EASAN
TRICHINOPOLY
S. INDIA

From the office copy: S.N. 19959

589. LETTER TO V. M. TARKUNDE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 30, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

1. When I pray, I do not ask for anything but I simply think of some of the verses or hymns which I fancy for the moment.

2. The relation between God and myself is not only at prayer but, at all times, that of master and slave in perpetual bondage.

3. Prayer is to me the intense longing of the heart to merge myself in the Master. If a man does not pray, evidently he has no longing; there is no feeling of helplessness and when there is no helplessness, there is no need for help.

4. The class eat the corn produced by the mass from purely selfish motives. But when the class begin to use khaddar, they will do so deliberately for the sake of serving the mass and establishing the bond between themselves and the mass.

5. Lawyers, etc., are invited and expected to spin by way of sacrifice and encouragement. As the leaders do, so will the followers. I spin because through my spinning, I expect to be able to, so far as a single individual is able to, move the mass to spin for their own sake and get rid of their idleness.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V. M. TARKUNDE
151, KASABA PETH
POONA CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 19724

590. LETTER TO K. VEERABHADRACHARYALU

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 30, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Everybody is expected to get up in the Ashram at 4 in the morning and attend prayer which begins at 4-15. Everybody is supposed to work in connection with the Ashram from 7 a.m. to 4-30 p.m. with an interval of an hour and a half. There is another prayer meeting at 7 p.m.

The principal vows are: *brahmacharya*, truth, non-violence, khaddar, removal of untouchability.

The food given is vegetarian and simple. Majority cook for themselves. The main changes in diet which have been found to be necessary are return to milk and substitution of oils with ghee and in the place of fruit, green vegetables in moderation should be taken. Vegetables may be eaten without salt.

In order to avoid constipation you should omit rice, take as little ghee as possible, take hip baths, plenty of exercise and you may take also abdominal earth bandages at night on empty stomach and you should drink hot water with or without salt and lemon first thing in the morning.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. VEERABHADRACHARYALU
ADHYAKSHA
SRI BHARATI VIDYASHRAMA
GORIGIPUDI, PEDAPULIVARRU P.O.
GUNTUR DT.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19725

591. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

Asvina Vad 9, 1982, October 30, 1926

CHI. MOTI,

I have your letter. My mind feels [now] at ease. On reading the postcard, I felt that I should now talk to Lakshmidas, and I have done so. May God give you the strength to stick to your resolution. Do not give up the practice of writing to me from time to time. There was much illness here, but things are improving now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12139

592. IS THIS HUMANITY?–IV

[October 31, 1926]

Taking life may be a duty. Let us consider this position. We do destroy as much life as we think is necessary for sustaining the body. Thus for food we take life, vegetable and other, and for health we destroy mosquitoes and the like by the use of disinfectants, etc., and we do not think that we are guilty of irreligion in doing so.

This is as regards one's own self. But for the sake of others, i.e., for the benefit of the species, we kill carnivorous beasts. When lions and tigers pester their villages, the villagers regard it a duty to kill them or have them killed.

Even man-slaughter may be necessary in certain cases. Suppose a man runs amuck and goes furiously about sword in hand, and killing anyone that comes his way, and no one dares to capture him alive. Anyone who despatches this lunatic will earn the gratitude of the community and be regarded a benevolent man.

From the point of view of ahimsa it is the plain duty of everyone to kill such a man. There is, indeed, one exception if it can be so called. The yogi who can subdue the fury of this dangerous man may not kill him. But we are not here dealing with beings who have almost reached perfection; we are considering the duty of the society, of the ordinary erring human beings.

There may be a difference of opinion as regards the appositeness of my illustrations. But if they are inadequate, others can be easily imagined. What they are meant to show is that refraining from taking life can in no circumstances be an absolute duty.

The fact is that ahimsa does not simply mean non-killing. *Himsa* means causing pain to or killing any life out of anger or from a selfish purpose, or with the intention of injuring it. Refraining from so doing is ahimsa.

The physician who prescribes bitter medicine causes you pain but does no *himsa*. If he fails to prescribe bitter medicine when it is necessary to do so, he fails in his duty of ahimsa. The surgeon who, from fear of causing pain to his patient, hesitates to amputate a rotten limb is guilty of *himsa*. He who refrains from killing a murderer who is about to kill his ward (when he cannot prevent him otherwise) earns no merit, but commits a sin, he practises no ahimsa but *himsa* out of a fatuous sense of ahimsa.

Let us now examine the root of ahimsa. It is uttermost selflessness. Selflessness means complete freedom from a regard for one's body. When some sage observed man killing numberless creatures, big and small, out of a regard for his own body, he was shocked at his ignorance. He pitied him for thus forgetting the deathless soul, encased within the perishable body, and for thinking of the ephemeral physical pleasure in preference to the eternal bliss of the spirit. He therefrom deduced the duty of complete self-effacement. He saw that if man desired to realize himself, i.e., truth, he could do so only by being completely detached from the body, i.e., by making all other beings feel safe from him. That is the way of ahimsa.

A realization of this truth shows that the sin of *himsa* consists not in merely taking life, but in taking life for the sake of one's perishable body. All destruction therefore involved in the process of eating, drinking, etc., is selfish and, therefore, *himsa*. But man regards it to be unavoidable and puts up with it. But the destruction of bodies of tortured creatures being for their own peace cannot be regarded as *himsa*, or the unavoidable destruction caused for the purpose of protecting one's wards cannot be regarded as *himsa*.

This line of reasoning is liable to be most mischievously used. But that is not because the reasoning is faulty, but because of the inherent frailty of man to catch at whatever pretexts he can get to deceive himself to satisfy his selfishness or egoism. But that danger may not excuse one from defining the true nature of

ahimsa. Thus, we arrive at the following result from the foregoing:

1. It is impossible to sustain one's body without the destruction of other bodies to some extent.

2. All have to destroy some life
   (a) for sustaining their own bodies;
   (b) for protecting those under their care; or
   (c) sometimes for the sake of those whose life is taken.

3. (a) and (b) in (2) mean *himsa* to a greater or less extent. (c) means no *himsa*, and is therefore ahimsa. *Himsa* in (a) and (b) is unavoidable.

4. A progressive ahimsaist will, therefore, commit the *himsa* contained in (a) and (b) as little as possible, only when it is unavoidable, and after full and mature deliberation and having exhausted all remedies to avoid it.

The destruction of dogs that I have suggested comes under (4) and can, therefore, be resorted to only when it is unavoidable, when there is no other remedy and after mature deliberation. But I have not the slightest doubt that refraining from that destruction when it is unavoidable is worse than destruction. And, therefore, although there can be no absolute duty to kill dogs, etc., it becomes a necessary duty for certain people at certain times and under certain circumstances.

I shall now try to take up one by one some of the questions that have been asked me. Some correspondents demand personal replies, and in case I fail to do so threaten to publish their views. It is impossible for me to reach every individual correspondent by a personal reply. Those that are necessary I shall deal with here. I have no right, nor desire, to stop people from carrying on the controversy in other papers. I may remind the correspondents, however, that threats and impatience have no place in a sober and religious discussion.

A correspondent asks:

> How did you hit upon the religion of destroying dogs at the old age of 57? If it had occurred to you earlier than this, why were you silent so long?

Man proclaims a truth only when he sees it and when it is necessary, no matter even if it be in his old age. I have long recognized the duty of killing such animals within the limits laid down above, and have acted up to it on occasions. In India the villagers have long recognized the duty of destroying intruding dogs. They keep dogs who scare away intruders and kill them if

they do not escape with their lives. These watch-dogs are purposely maintained with a view to protecting the village from other dogs, etc., as also from thieves and robbers whom they attack fearlessly. The dogs have become a nuisance only in cities, and the best remedy is to have a law against stray dogs. That will involve the least destruction of dogs and ensure the protection of citizens.

Another correspondent asks:

> Do you expect to convince people by logical argument in a matter like that of ahimsa?

The rebuke contained in this is not without some substance. But I wanted to convince no one. Being a student and practiser of ahimsa, I have had to give expression to my views when the occasion demanded it. I have an opinion based on experience that logic and reasoning have some place, no doubt very small, in a religious discussion.

Young India, 4-11-1926

593. *LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI*

SABARMATI,
November 1, 1926

MY DEAR C.R.,

I have your note. I understand how your boys are shaping. When boys grow old, they must be allowed to go their way. If I were you and Narasinharao could not help running into the trap, I should let him have his way, only, I would not support him in the trap.

These elections are an awful business. You are well out of them.

I am not religiously against quinine. I have been using it freely in the Ashram. I should be chary of using it for myself.

Heaven only knows whether I am going to Gauhati or not. But I suppose I will have to go. I have no heart in going there. My work lies in the Ashram and I see my use here. However, a month hence is too long a time for one to speculate about.

Are you keeping all right? Can you walk 50 miles at a stretch? Can you wrestle with Mahadev or even me? A fair test!

Sickness is now clearing. Am off to Bombay today for a day to see Sir Ganga Ram and others and preach the wheel.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 19727

594. LETTER TO KAKALBHAI KOTHARI

Asvina Vad 11, 1982 [November 1, 1926]

BHAISHRI KAKALBHAI[1],

I have your letter. It cannot be published in *Navajivan*. I have not yet read Shivaji's letter published in the newspapers. He has sent me a copy for publication. Shall decide what to do after perusing it. It is only from you that I have come to know of what he did in the Kutch Parishad. I have read nothing about this Parishad. I see no objection to Saurashtra doing what it thinks fit in this connection. For the sake of Truth even, not a single step should be taken in excitement or haste. If out of fear we refrain from doing something, that will be contrary to truth. I could not guess who the other person might be. Whenever you feel like letting me know, please do.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Ramdas has written to me about the charges against the Amreli Karyalaya. If you have received some report about them, you should make inquiries and publish them.

MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19960

595. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI M. PATEL

Asvina Vad 13, 1982 [November 3, 1926]

BHAISHRI DAHYABHAI,

I have your letter. Do come and see me. I should have replied earlier but I could not manage to reply yesterday while on the train. Please forgive me.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

BHAISHRI DAHYABHAI M. PATEL
TALUKA SAMITI
DHOLKA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 2697. Courtesy: Dahyabhai M. Patel

[1] A Congress worker and journalist of Saurashtra

596. RETURNED EMIGRANTS

To

The Editor, *Young India*

SIR,

I must confess that I was rather mistaken in being too sure about the knowledge of Hindustani possessed by the Colonial-born Indians. . . .[1]

As regards the Fiji Indians being sent to British Guiana, I remain convinced that the experiment will lead to another disappointment to the Fiji people. . . .

I remind you that in 1920 you made the mistake of recommending an experimental shipment of 500 labourers to British Guiana and confessed it when it was pointed out to you by Mr. Polak and others.[2] I am afraid that you are repeating your mistake. . . . I am sure that the Fiji returned emigrants, accustomed as they are to one of the finest tropical climates, will find their life miserable in that malaria-ridden mudland of British Guiana. . . . I am entirely opposed to the idea of Fiji Indians being sent to British Guiana. My main argument against the experiment recommended by you rests on higher grounds of humaneness. . . . I beseech you to reconsider the whole thing again and thus prevent another disappointment and disaster in the life of those who were domiciled in Fiji.[3]

Yours, etc.,
BANARASIDAS CHATURVEDI

The foregoing letter was received some time ago. But I was anxious to verify for myself the "confession" imputed to me. Pandit Banarasidas Chaturvedi has kindly sent me a cutting containing an interview which I gave some years ago regarding an experimental shipment. I have seen the "confession". In my opinion, it has no relevance to the present opinion. My opinion is concerned only with those who are now living in a disgraceful state in Calcutta, who cannot and will not go to the villages, and for whom any other state will be probably better than the present. These may, in my opinion, go to British Guiana, if they choose. They cannot lose much. Their going is not even to be used as

[1] *Vide* "Returned Emigrants", 23-9-1926.

[2] The reference probably is to "British Guiana and Fiji Deputations", before 4-2-1920, and "Letter to Dr. Joseph Nunan", 5-2-1920; *vide* Vol. XVII.

[3] Only extracts are reproduced here.

a preliminary to the shipment of others. The remedy I have suggested is an emergency measure dealing with only a few hundreds at the outset. It should be remembered that my recommendation is for sending Fiji Indians to British Guiana only if any other remedy fails, and even then it is subject to the final consent of the people themselves. I am therefore sorry that I cannot reconsider the opinion I have given. A permanent remedy no doubt lies in considering and dealing adequately with the whole question of emigration.

Young India, 4-11-1926

597. NOTES

Subscribers to A.I.S.A.

The subscriptions for the new year of the All-India Spinners' Association are coming in but not as fast as they might be. It is hoped that the subscribers this year will make it a point to improve the quality of their yarn in strength, evenness and fineness. They should aim at a standard count so as to make it possible to weave their yarn into one good piece. Indeed this sacrificial yarn should be far superior to the yarn spun for hire.

But a correspondent says:

> You write about improving the quality of yarn, you refer to testing machines. Then is it not necessary to advise the spinning member of the defects in his spinning, so that he may try to improve it?

Attempts are being made to have all yarn tested at the A.I.S.A. office but only a limited number of packets can be tested per day. Whenever the yarn is tested, the result is sent to the spinner. But I suggest to those who are anxious to make quick progress to improvise their own testing contrivance, which they can do without any difficulty or expense. The improvised contrivance has already been described in these pages.[1] It is well for the members to remember that the A.I.S.A. represents the poor man's movement and, therefore, cannot afford to spend much at the central office. Decentralization and distribution have to keep pace with centralization and concentration.

From England

A lady from Bristol sends the following:

[1] *Vide* "Improvised Method of Testing", 14-10-1926.

> Herewith £1 towards the spinning-wheels, would it were £100. I expect you do not realize how much help you get from spirits in England who realize the awful weight that lies upon you and try to help you, sending forth their spirits to you.

The virtue of letters like this lies not in the value of the monetary contribution but an appreciation of the fundamental fact underlying the spinning-wheel, viz., that it is an attempt to replace the spirit of killing competition that threatens to turn man into beast by the spirit of co-ordinated effort that lifts the whole humanity with the lifting of one's own self. This movement can only succeed if the purest forces in the world combine to work towards the consummation. But the momentum must first come from within India's borders. And if I had no faith in God, in India and the cause, "the awful weight" would certainly kill me. As it is, I turn the weight over to God's broad shoulders.

Young India, 4-11-1926

598. PRECARIOUS CONDITION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The latest mail from South Africa has brought me a batch of papers which show the precarious condition of the Indian settlers in that sub-continent. Trade licenses are an eternal problem. The administrative reins are being daily tightened. Hitherto, in Natal, it has been a fairly recognized rule not to touch old licenses under the wide discretionary powers given to licensing officers except for cases of grave insanitation or breach of conditions imposed by the officers. But that sound rule is gradually being disregarded and even renewals are being arbitrarily refused. The case sent to me is pathetic and refers to an old lady Mrs. Sophia Bhayla. The Secretary of the S. A. Congress in introducing the case says:

> This poor lady with five children has been ruined through the caprice of the licensing officer and to avoid being put in jail by her creditors, it is highly likely that she will have to seek the protection of the law of insolvency.

The judges of the appellate courts showed their sympathy for the poor woman but declared themselves powerless, being bound under the statute not to interfere with the discretion vested by the legislature in the licensing officers, except when they can be proved to have been bribed or incapable of exercising the powers vested in them. Here is what the principal judgment says:

The licensing officer refused her license after she had held it for many years and it would appear that the refusal is based on the ground that this lady had not paid the dues which it is said she should have paid to the Town Council of Estcourt. At first sight it would appear that that was somewhat harsh for the licensing officer, who happens to betown clerk and town treasurer and holds other offices as well, that because of the knowledge that he had as town treasurer and town clerk, he should say as licensing officer: "Well, you had trouble with my employers, the Town Council, and you have not paid your rates or the dues which are payable and, therefore, I will not grant you a renewal of this license." That does appear to one's mind to be inequitable. If this lady had committed an offence against the bye-laws, there was a ready remedy for that by prosecuting her or by proceeding against her according to the law if she had broken any contract.

Thus, the judges though willing were unable to redress a manifest wrong. When a law is bad, a judge is helpless unless he resigns. Such heroic action is not to be expected in these days.

But the Government is not powerless. Town Councils, composed as they are of rival traders, are not to be expected to do justice. They will generally use the powers given to them for crushing their rivals, but the central administration can certainly render aid in such glaring cases. The Round Table Conference will be a mockery, if even cases of manifest hardship remain unredressed. The Class Areas Bill[1] may be shelved for ever but if the spirit animating it survives, the position of the settlers will in no wise be better than if the Bill had been passed. An empty victory will be worse than a proper defeat. For in the noise of it, the cry of the anguish of the sufferers may be hushed and they may be denied even the solace of sympathy.

Young India, 4-11-1926

[1] Introduced in 1923, the Bill contained provisions which could be used in urban areas for the compulsory segregation of Asiatics, but in consequence of the unexpected dissolution of the South African House of Assembly in April, 1924, the Bill lapsed.

599. *A PLEA FOR PURITY*

It is no longer possible for me to suppress the voluminous correspondence that is pouring in upon me in connection with the elections and, incidentally, with canvassing for Congress membership. A candidate for legislature membership writes:[1]

> When I embarked upon this business I had no notion of what I was to be in for. My agents play false. They attribute to me virtues which I do not recognize in myself. My opponents condemn me to vice I have never been guilty of. . . . I want a clean and a fair fight. . . . Can you show a way out or will you simply say that Council-going is wrong and I must retire?

Another correspondent writes:[2]

> Can you not as of yore prevent the frauds that are being perpetrated in the name of the Congress, and, shall I say, even in your name? . . . How can you remain silent now when these frauds can be proved to exist? I can give you proofs if you want them.
>
> Here in my province, parties who are interested in packing the Congress—I can use no other word—are degrading the Congress name and with it the name of khaddar till both stink in one's nostrils. Men are practically picked up in the streets, their subscriptions are paid for them and pieces of khaddar are wrapped round them in order to fulfil the letter of the law of the Congress. Surely you can raise your voice against this debasing practice. . . . Will these men or their representatives enable us to get swaraj? Retirement or no retirement, we expect you at least to use your pen against these practices.

A third correspondent writes:[3]

> Do you know that, in my province, shameful practices are being resorted to in order to register members? A man of loose character has got hold of women of ill-fame—I personally know at least one—and is using them or her for the work of canvassing members. She goes from door to door, appeals to the baser passions of mankind and gets members. Is this legal? Is this moral? What is the Congress worth when members are registered by these means? . . . Are you prepared to justify the canvassing of Congress members by such women? And, if not, will you not say so publicly?

A fourth correspondent sends me cuttings which show that candidates and their supporters appeal to sub-communal passions. He says:[4]

[1], [2], [3] & [4] Only extracts are reproduced here.

> Hindu and Muslim divisions we have, but now we have an appeal to provincial and caste jealousies and passions, that is to say, voters are asked to vote for men belonging to their own province or to their own castes and trades, and not for their intrinsic worth. . . .

A fifth correspondent sends me cuttings containing speeches which I cannot reproduce, which almost beat Billings-gate.

A sixth tells me that money is being freely used which can only be described as bribery. Men who were never worth much are today getting handsome salaries merely because they can speak and because they are supposed to wield some influence in their own districts. They have no opinions of their own. Some of them are brazen-faced enough to own that they are only acting as agents and that they would champion any policy, as a lawyer champions for money any cause that he gets, irrespective of morals.

I have been told that all these things are inevitable when a nation is rising from stupor. No doubt there is some truth in this. When people were thoroughly apathetic and only a few men were interested in running elections and running associations, impurities remained underground. Now that a large body of people are taking part in these public matters, the impurities which were hidden are coming to the surface. Unfortunately if all my correspondents are right, there is not anything better left under the surface, in other words, impurities are not superficial, but they are in the whole body itself. I should hope that things are not so bad and that the body is sound and that the statements made above are true only in isolated cases.

I do not know. I confess that I am not following the newspapers. Nor am I otherwise in touch with what is going on and it was for that reason that I have hitherto refrained from noticing the voluminous correspondence before me. But some of the correspondents are known to me. All of them have given me their names and addresses and some of them have offered to supply me with further particulars. Some of them have sent me newspaper cuttings in corroboration. I felt in the circumstances that I should be wrong if I did not even give a gist of this correspondence. I have digested it for what it is worth and present it for the serious consideration of workers all over India who are taking part in the elections, no matter to what party they belong. I draw the particular attention of all Congress workers to the painful allegations made. The latter must remember that the Congress creed is still unamended. The creed requires them to work for the attainment of swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means. The

resolutions require the absolute use of pure khaddar on all Congress occasions. Let the Congress workers then not believe their creed or their resolutions. And if I have no creed for non-Congressmen to draw attention to, I wish they would realize that without purity of public life, swaraj is an impossibility.

Young India, 4-11-1926

600. LITERALISM

A correspondent writes thus passionately:

> I am afraid, there is a little fly in the ointment of your splendid defence (in *Young India* of September 23) of the practice of Divine prayer, especially congregational prayer. At the end of the article, referring to churches, temples and mosques you say, "These places of worship are not a mere idle superstition to be swept away at the first opportunity. They have survived all attacks up to now and are likely to persist to the end of time.[1]
>
> On reading this I asked myself: Attacks by whom? Surely those attacks were not made by atheists or scoffers or humbugs, to anything like the extent to which the opposing sects of God-believers are known to have attacked the places of worship of one another. In fact, most, if not all, of the attacks you speak of were perpetrated by 'godly' zealots, *in the name and for the glory of each one's own God.* It would be insulting your knowledge of world history to cite instances.
>
> Secondly, I asked myself: Is it true—is it strictly correct to say, that these places of worship have survived all attacks? Again the answer is: Surely not. Witness the site at Kashi (or Benares) where had stood the temple of Vishvanath for long centuries, since even before Lord Buddha's time—but where now stands dominating the 'Holy City' a mosque built out of the ruins of the desecrated old temple by orders of no less a man than the 'Living Saint' (*Zinda Pir*), the 'Ascetic King' (*Sultan Auliya*), the 'Puritan Emperor'—Aurangzeb. Again, it is not the 'unbelieving' British, but the terrible believer, Ibn Saud, and his Wahabi hosts, that are responsible for the recent demolition and desecration of many places of worship in the Hedjaz (Muslims' 'Holy Land'), over which Mussalman Indians are just now so loudly lamenting, and which the Nizam of Hyderabad—alone of all Muslim rulers in the world—has vainly tried to restore with his money.
>
> Do these facts mean nothing to you Mahatmaji?

These facts do mean a great deal to me. They show undoubtedly man's barbarity. But they chasten me. They warn

[1] *Vide* "No Faith in Prayer", 23-9-1926.

me against becoming intolerant. And they make me tolerant even towards the intolerant. They show man's utter insignificance and thus drive him to pray, if he will not be led to it. For, does not history record instances of humbled pride bending the knee before the Almighty, washing His feet with tears of blood and asking to be reduced to dust under His heels? Verily 'the letter killeth, the spirit giveth life.'

The writer who is one of the most regular and painstaking readers of *Young India* should know by this time that places of worship to me are not merely brick and mortar. They are but a shadow of the reality. Against every church and every mosque and every temple destroyed, hundreds have risen in their places. It is wholly irrelevant to the argument about the necessity of prayer that the so-called believers have belied their belief and that many places renowned for their sacred character have been razed to the ground. I hold it to be enough, and it is enough for my argument, if I can prove that there have been men in the world, and there are men today in existence, for whom prayer is positively the bread of life. I recommend to the correspondent the practice of going unobserved to mosques, temples and churches, without any preconceived ideas, and he will discover as I have discovered that there is something in them which appeals to the heart and which transforms those who go there, not for show, not out of shame or fear, but out of simple devotion. It defies analysis. Nevertheless the fact stands that pure-minded people going the present places of pilgrimage which have become hot-beds of error, superstition, and even immorality, return from them purer for the act of worship. Hence the significant assurance in the *Bhagavad Gita*: "I make return according to the spirit in which men worship Me."[1]

What the correspondent has written undoubtedly shows our present limitations, which we must try as early as possible to get rid of. It is a plea for purification of religions, broadening of the outlook. That much-needed reform is surely coming. There is a better world-consciousness, and may I say that even the reform we all hanker after needs intense prayer in order to achieve deeper purification of self? For, without deeper purification of mankind in general, mutual toleration and mutual goodwill are not possible.

Young India, 4-11-1926

[1] IV, 11

601. *UNTOUCHABLES' RIGHT OF WORSHIP*

A friend from Neemach Cantt. asks:

1. Do the untouchables, also called *atishudras* by people of higher castes, —do they too have the right to offer worship before the image of Vishnu and to take it out in a procession through the streets?
2. Do the *Vaishnavas* go to hell if they have *darshan* of an image of Vishnu which has been worshipped by *atishudras*?

That people still feel the need to ask such questions is a matter of sorrow. I firmly believe that our *Antyaja* brothers have as much right to place the image of Vishnu in a chariot and take it out in a procession as any other people. And so, too, a *Vaishnava* far from committing a sin earns merit by *darshan* of an image which has been worshipped by *atishudras*. A *Vaishnava* who knowingly avoids worshipping such an image brings the *Vaishnava* dharma into contempt.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 4-11-1926

602. *LETTER TO NATHUBHAI NEMICHAND PAREKH*

SABARMATI,
[*November 4, 1926*][1]

BHAI NATHUBHAI,

I have been receiving your loving letters. If I do not reply, do not feel that I am indifferent to your letters. I have been patiently discussing the topic in *Navajivan*. I welcome opposition from simple-hearted men like you. Certainly it is not my aim that the dogs should be killed at once. My article seemingly expresses a new idea and therefore readers take time to understand it, but ultimately people like you will surely follow it or I will come to see my mistake.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI NATHUBHAI NEMICHAND PAREKH
CALICUT, MALABAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6248

[1] From the postmark

603. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

Thursday [November 4, 1926][1]

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Your letter. I received Baijnathji's *hundi* and have sent him the receipt. Soniramji is here; he is not in good health. Kamala changed her mind at the last minute and has decided to go with me to Wardha and I am happy about it. My health is now good. I had been to Bombay for a day.[2] I had talks with Sir Ganga Ram, Kamath, Ganguli and Sir Chunilal.[3] Let's see the result.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2875

[1] From the postmark
[2] On November 2
[3] Members of the Royal Agricultural Commission with whom Gandhiji discussed the benefits of the spinning-wheel and khadi

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LETTER FROM NORMAN LEYS

BRAILSFORD,
NEAR DERBY,
June 29, 1926

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I am most grateful for your letter.

My great difficulty, in which I am most anxious for your advice, is this. I am a member of the committee set up by the Independent Labour Party to determine what policy that party should pursue in regard to India. The I.L.P. is a constituent part of the Labour Party and contains the great majority of its most active members. It is definitely anti-Imperialist, by contrast with a group in the Labour Party which would have the party make no distinct break with past traditions. Hitherto most of the things that the I.L.P. has urged the Labour Party to adopt, it has adopted. But the time is near when there will be a struggle between I.L.P. ideas and Imperialist ideas in the L.P. When that struggle comes a great deal will depend on whether we can prove our policy to be practicable. If for example our opponents can say "what is the use of arousing the enmity of British people in India for the sake of a policy which Indians themselves don't want and wouldn't act upon?"—then the people who say "let things go on as they are until Indians learn more sense" will prevail in the Labour Party. And that would mean an end to any hope of fraternal relations for many years, since Labour Governments in this country would have no reason to behave to[wards] India differently from Conservative Governments.

For these reasons it does seem to me important that this committee should reach the right conclusions. I ask you to tell me what these conclusions should be. What should the next Labour Government do about India?

The obvious answer is that they should do as Indians themselves wish, and of course the ignorant among us are content with that answer. Those who like me know a little more, know that in no country are those who love their country in agreement about even the chief political measures and steps to be taken. And it is painfully evident that the disagreements in India are deeper and wider than usual. Does that fact make the problem—our problem in this country, I mean not yours in your country—insoluble? In answer I think we ought both to admit that in the cases of past nationalist movements success was attained only when some organized body of men had won the support

of the great majority of those who were ready to make sacrifices for their country's liberty. In Italy for example, national liberty was won only when the policy of Cavour and Garibaldi prevailed in the minds of the Italians over the policy of Mazzini. (I believe Mazzini was right and Cavour wrong but that is irrelevent.) Foreigners were able to help the Italians to independence only because there were conspicuous people to deal with who were known to have the support, not of all Italians but of so large a proportion of them that they could speak for Italy. Nothing of that sort is apparently imaginable in India for many years. What then can the friends of India do? So far as I can see there are only two possible answers. They can arbitrarily choose some group of men in India with definite views and a programme so fully and carefully worked out that its practicability is tolerably certain, adopt that policy and hope that its adoption by Socialist opinion in Britain will result in its gradually gaining ground in India until it can be acted on. Or, they could simply frame a policy of their own, drafting a constitution which in their opinion would work and would also perhaps win support from men in India who find nothing to admire in one another's proposals. Which of these solutions do you prefer? Or is there another, a third, outside my range of vision? The second alternative appears presumptuous, but it must be remembered that we in this country have an unprecedented experience, not only of the operation of democratic institutions but of the framing of constitutions for other countries.

There is one isolated point you raise on which I should be specially grateful for further information. You suggest that the British authorities may partly be responsible for the communal strife. I can understand that an administrative act like the partition of Bengal might aggravate it. But I cannot understand how any agent of government could possibly influence the people who actually engage in strife. The important question to ask is what a Labour Government could do to put an end to those actions of its agents in India, whatever they may be, which increase hatred between Hindu and Muslim. It obviously could not replace most of these agents by men sympathetic with Indian liberty. What less drastic steps *could* it take?

If you are going to be so generous with your time and energy as to answer this letter, please do not trouble to follow my arguments in detail. I have shown you whether my mind has been drawn by the facts, only because I could explain our perplexity in no other way. In your answer I beg you to think of one thing only, how you would act if your name were not Gandhi but Leys, and God had given you some responsibility for coming to decisions which conceivably may become the decisions upon which some day a British Government may act. What arguments would you use with those whose remedy is to leave alone? And just what, as precisely as possible, would you advocate if in my place? I hope the comparison between us, that suggests that in my place you might conceivably think as I do, will not vex you. If

mankind is a single family, none of the differences between its members should prevent them from helping one another.

Yours sincerely,
NORMAN LEYS

From a photostat: S.N. 12168

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM NORMAN LEYS

BRAILSFORD,
NEAR DERBY,
August 9, 1926

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Your letter gives me real hope that with your help Socialists in this country may discover what it is their duty to do in regard to India. But do not imagine that I am "called upon to lead or guide the I.L.P". I am merely one out of about a dozen members of that party who because they have had some special experience have been asked by their fellow members to explore and discover what the duty of the whole party is. Will you allow the other members of the committee to read your letters, on condition that they must not get into print?

Your explanation of the difference between the various Indian parties and their programmes is most important. It has cleared away one mystery from my mind. Even more important is your prescription for the solution of the problem a Labour Government would have to meet in India. You would have such a government choose some one person to first of all confer with the readers of Indian opinion and then decide on a constitution and programme which his party would impose on India. Public opinion would disapprove of a single person being given such a task. But I see no reason against its being given to a committee of three or four persons. There are of course immense difficulties in the way of your solution (which is identical with the second alternative in my last letter) but the great thing about it is that it is a real solution. The difficulties are of two sorts. One sort is inherent in British politics. Committees with us are representative. They are samples of a variety of types of mind. But a committee to draw up a constitution for India would have to be composed of men with the same mind. Important differences among its members would wreck its work. A greater difficulty would be to get the Labour Government to entrust the task to men who would disregard everything but the needs of India. The last Labour Government stultified itself by fear. It was afraid, not only of its enemies but of its own programme. I know Lord Oliver to be a true friend to India. But I feel sure he would admit now that if he had risked his all in framing, even in bare outlines,

a really democratic constitution, and urging it on his cabinet, he would have done the right thing. But even you cannot realize the storm it would create if the next Labour Government gave the Indian problem to be solved by men who sought a solution that would conform to two conditions and these two only, viz., that their constitution would work and that it would satisfy the bulk of Indian opinion. Unless the I.L.P. leavens the whole Labour Party very rapidly the next Labour Government will leave India to some "safe" man, and, if it expects him, either alone or with one or two others, to make a constitution, will expect one that would buy off with compromises the less rabid imperialists.

The other sort of difficulty comes from your end. You practically admit that Muslims would resist by fighting if a democratic government were set up in India. I believe that Islam and democracy are as incompatible as oil and water. Do you expect that the rest of Indians would defend their political liberty against them? Or are British troops to be called in? In either case you must admit Muslim resistance would involve a kind of war, and that would mean that the blood of many innocents would be shed.

You put forward one suggestion that you think would help to diminish Muslim antagonism, "preference in education". Could you elaborate that idea? We have a plan in this country whereby in secondary, i.e., more advanced, schools which get grants of public money, a large number of the scholars must be poor and must be given free education. Is that the sort of thing you mean? Would you have the constitution include clauses that would compel the Provincial Governments to give a proportion of such "free places" to Muslim children, according to the number of Muslims in the population? Finally, there is insistent in my mind the dreadful question, to which I know there can be no answer, whether the inexperience of Indians will lead them to choose to represent them bad men, men who will deceive the people with flattery and others who will fill their own pockets. We even in the Labour Party have many of the former class, no doubt some of the latter class. If I were a member of a committee with the task of giving India self-government—the idea is ridiculous of course—I should feel in my bones that the whole scheme might break down. But I should also feel that the one chance of success lay in boldness, in throwing on the whole people of India more duties and more responsibility than they ask, in calling on them in effect to behave like free men. Such a scheme most I.C.S. men would I suppose refuse to work. Then would come the testing time. I feel sure that Indians do exist to fill with efficiency the legislative, administrative and executive posts that will be vacant. But will the Indian people choose these men and not others, or rather choose enough of them to enable the machinery of government to work well enough to prevent new tyrannies arising, whether a new Akbar or a new Curzon is no matter?

Most gratefully yours,
NORMAN LEYS

[PS.]

It is quite impossible for me to visit India. A number of much more important people in the party have of course done as you suggest and have done all they could to discover what Indians would wish a Labour Government to do in India.

From a photostat: S.N. 12170

APPENDIX III

LETTER FROM NORMAN LEYS

September 20, 1926

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I cannot find anything to differ from in your letter, although of course differences in histories and environments always leave their marks. I am most grateful for the time and thought you have given to my questions and shall not hesitate in future to consult you when perplexed about Indian affairs.

I have recently got to know one of your disciples, Tarini P. Sinha. He has recently been on a speaking tour among the miners who live about thirty miles from our house. Ten days ago he was arrested for something he had said. I went to him as soon as I heard of the arrest. His case has been postponed for a fortnight and he will come to our house from London on the way to the court. I have little doubt he will be discharged acquitted[1]. The only sentence that the police seem to have objected to was a criticism of patriotism and I have no doubt at all that he made it quite clear that what he condemned was not love of one's own country but the hatred of or even the slighting of other countries. In fact the real reason for his arrest seems to have been the language used by a very young Englishman who had been accompanying Mr. Sinha, and was in the habit of using vulgar terms of abuse and even encouraging the miners to injure those of their number who had accepted the terms of the mine-owners. If Mr. Sinha had been an Englishman he would have declined to continue to speak from the same platform as this man unless he gave better advice. But I think this man is sorry now.

One feature of your movement that we on this side of the world also share is the idea of restricting personal expenditure to an equal part of the national income. I have been trying to do it for years, and failing most of the time. Besides personal difficulties there are those which arise from the fact that family expenses are the chief trouble—and women are always more conservative than men. Also I don't think the idea a good one for the young,

[1] The source has both the words.

who ought to have more than an equal share. But some day I hope there will be a fraternity in this country of people who, while living outwardly in every way like those who have taken no vow, pledge themselves not to spend their money on themselves.

I think I remember Mr. Andrews saying he had sent you last year one of the copies of my book I had sent him for distribution. It is called *Kenya.* But if you have no copy please let me know, if you would be so good as to let me give you one. You will let me sign myself as we Socialists do.

Yours fraternally,
NORMAN LEYS

From a photostat: S.N. 12172

APPENDIX IV

(*AN APPEAL*)

MAHATMAJI,

You will, perhaps, be surprised and even annoyed at this somewhat unusual mode of approach to one who has never denied accessibility to the humblest of his followers. Our only excuse for this method of addressing you is to be found in the present deplorable condition of our national politics, the distressing divisions and cross-divisions of parties and principles, the clash of personalities and the clang of prejudice. You are, of course, not unaware of this nor can any other Indian heart bleed as freely as yours must be bleeding at the distressful spectacle presented by the country. But what, perhaps, we venture to think, is unknown to you and what we seek with all respect to bring to your notice, by this communication addressed through the medium of the Press, is the unspoken anxiety and eagerness of millions of your countrymen who have been long waiting for a lead from you, the one Indian who is a national figure and is trusted by all the warring communities and feared as well as respected by the Government. These your countrymen are unable to voice their sentiments and make their appeal to you because they respect the self-denying ordinance you have imposed on yourself. Sir, if it be not presumptuous in your eyes that we thus constitute ourselves their spokesmen and plead with you to resume the reins that you have voluntarily surrendered, will you permit us to make this appeal, in the name of the unspeaking masses of India, in the name of those who, while you were still at the helm, followed your orders and instructions without cavil or question, in the name of those sacred principles of liberty, equality and fraternity which are being trampled under foot simply because the one man who could hold up his head and withstand the onslaught of reactionarism in these days of distress and despair is not there at his post?

Sir, our reasons for this appeal cannot be unknown to you. We have been your followers ever since you started the campaign of non-violent non-co-operation and we have not ceased to believe in the central basis of your war against the present system of government. The country, probably, was not prepared to submit to the rigorous self-discipline, the relentless self-denial that the pursuit of your great ideal necessarily involved; and so in sheer despair at the unreadiness of your countrymen and despite the unspeakable anguish to yourself, you elected rather to countermand the campaign commencing at Bardoli than to proceed further at the cost of repeated and innumerable Chauri Chauras. With your incarceration, Sir, commenced the decay of the strident sentiment of national solidarity and of the determined resolve to win national freedom. Your release and the subsequent developments of the political situation are much too well known to need recall. But the nation has watched with breathless suspense the triumph after triumph of the forces of reaction, the surrender after surrender which you seemed to be making rather than permit the country to be cast into the unfathomable pit of irremediable wrongs. There are many, however, who have never understood the sublime self-sacrifice dictating your actions ever since your unconditional release from jail and we express the sentiments of such doubters and waverers and the inarticulate but not insignificant millions as well as of ourselves when we say that the moment has come when you may, out of your infinite love for the motherland, make the greater sacrifice than all others you have made hitherto, of foregoing the vow you have imposed on yourself.

The more imperative reasons why the unquestioned leader of the Indian people should emerge at this critical juncture from his self-imposed seclusion are also not lacking. Besides the great, incalculable harm done to the soul of a country by foreign domination of the kind we are undergoing, India has today innumerable reasons to apprehend that, without a determined stand for their rights by her people, the interests of this country will be immolated on the altar of the greed of alien exploiters. You will, we hope, pardon our pointing out the lesson of the recent happenings in the Legislative Assembly. Because the Swarajists were absent, as a measure of their conjoint protest against the unruffled irresponsiveness of the bureaucracy, the Government dared to hasten with a Bill of prime importance to the material interests of the country, but the Swarajists, recognizing the immense importance of the Currency legislation, checkmated them by returning to the Assembly on the fateful day. There are, however, countless directions in which the bureaucracy can and will do material harm to the interests of this country, in the absence of any check or control from the representatives of the people. And if the latter are threatened with wholesale disintegration, as it seems too painfully evident by the recent attempts at Party-mongering by every self-styled leader and spokesman, there is a danger that, in the next Assembly and Councils, the anti-Nationalist majority will be overwhelming. The tragedy of

the situation, however, is that such a majority will, as a matter of fact, reflect only a very small minority of the people of India. For we are convinced that the country is, even now, nationalist to the core. It only needs a leader who thinks their thoughts, hopes their hopes, feels their wrongs and fights their battle, without a thought for self. Sir, such a leader is rare; but India is fortunate in having at least one such citizen, to wit, yourself. Sir, we beg you in the name of your country, and for the reason not only of the wrongs it has already suffered but of those other countries wrongs it will be made to suffer, to forgo your vow of retirement, to abandon your resolve of self-effacement, to listen to the call of your country and resume the helm that none can hold like you. We are not making this prayer in the blind faith and the unreasoning feeling that somehow good will come of all the ills that oppress the world. We know the chaos into which the country has fallen, but we think if you, Sir, will respond to this call, both men and material will be found in abundance once more to wage the war of our country's liberation.

We have no desire to be invidious or personal. We have no intention to criticize, to praise or censure individuals for this or that act in your absence or during your retirement. We think the country has had enough of recriminations, and is ready to let bygones be bygones. But to achieve that, also, we need a real leader by right of his divine gifts of leadership that no amount of newspaper advertisement or platform assertion will infuse in any man, if he be lacking in the same by nature. And, if you respond to this call, if you seek the *modus operandi* and a word by way of suggestion,—mere suggestion—is not unwelcome to you, may we mention that as the first act of your resumed authority, you should yourself call a fully representative conference,—representative not of individuals but of all the principles or interests that tear this country into hostile camps? In such a conference there will be room enough for Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as well as Sir Abdur Rahim, Mr. Jayakar[1] as well as Mr. Patel[2]. Agitation has, we know, been set afoot of late to call a special session of our National Congress. We submit, most respectfully, that such a session is as inexpedient as it would be unfruitful. For the Congress is necessarily bound by its constitution and rules of procedure that will not permit that unrestricted interchange of sentiments and views which seems to us to be the only way for clearing up the mass of misunderstanding and prejudice lying at the root of inter-communal quarrels. We are not unmindful of the fact that you, too, if you undertake to call a really representative conference of the kind we have ventured to suggest, will not be altogether exempt from a liability to censure. But your motives are above suspicion; your action is bound to be national in the highest sense of the term; and, at the very worst, it is a chance of personal misunderstanding or

[1] M. R. Jayakar
[2] Vithalbhai Patel

misrepresentation, which, we feel, a man of your grandeur can afford to run, and must run, in view of the great interests at stake. We have placed before you the country's unexpressed wish, and we leave it now to you to act as it seems best to you, without, we trust, doubting, that we remain, as ever, your most respectful and dutiful followers.

(DR.) SYED MAHMUD
(DURBAR) GOPALDAS A. DESAI
(DR.) SAIFUDDIN KITCHLEW
BURJORJI FRAMJI BHARUCHA
LAKSHMIDAS ROWJI TAIRSEE
NAVROJI H. BELGAMWALA
CHANDULAL DESAI
SRINIVAS V. KAUJALGI
SYED ABDULLAH BRELVI
JAISUKHLAL K. MEHTA
R. K. SIDHVA
SORAB P. KAPADIA

The Bombay Chronicle, 6-9-1926

APPENDIX V

EXTRACTS FROM BHAVANI DAYAL'S LETTER

September 9, 1926

MY DEAR MAHATMAJI,

I am writing a book called *Fourteen Years in South Africa* which will contain a summary of my experiences there. I therefore take the liberty of addressing to you the following questions:

1. When the Indian Location near Johannesburg was transferred to the municipality, had you on behalf of the Indians consented to the transfer?

2. After the Location had been taken away, is it true that the municipality offered an alternative site to the Indians and that you advised the community not to accept it? If so, could you give your reasons?

3. Is it true that in connection with the Location you received £ 1,600/- from the municipality? And did you also receive anything from the Indians?

4. Was not the British Indian Association organized in place of the Transvaal Indian Association then existing in Johannesburg?

5. If giving finger-prints under compulsion was improper how was it proper to give them voluntarily? I feel somewhat baffled. Is there provision anywhere else in the world to take finger-prints except from prisoners?

6. If the Government wanted to stop unauthorized immigrants, couldn't this have been done with the help of photographs, which is the means used for identification all the world over?

7. About vested rights you once said: "By vested rights I understand the right of an Indian and his successors to live and trade in the township in which he was living and trading no matter how often he shifts his resi-

dence or business from place to place in the same township." Does this not imply that a trader or his successor who has the right to trade in a certain township retains that right even if he frequently goes on changing premises? Does not this also mean that save those actually engaged in trade or their successors "no other or no new" Indians would have any trading rights? So far as I understand by "protection of vested rights" you had meant "protection of the existing rights". Would you clarify?

8. I have just finished reading your *Satyagraha in South Africa.* In the preface of the book while there is a mention of Rajendra Babu's *Satyagraha in Champaran* there is not a word about [my] *History of the South African Satyagraha.* If my work was incomprehensive or unauthentic a line from you could have stopped its sale. And if the events described in it are authentic, then why has it been ignored? . . .

From a photostat of the Hindi: S.N. 10990

APPENDIX VI

LETTER FROM BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

FEROZABAD,
AGRA

SIR,

There are certain statements in your article "Out of the Frying-pan" published in the *Young India* of 9th Sept. which require explanation at your hands. You have quoted a passage from the report of Mr. S. A. Waiz to the I.I.C. Association which asserts that there were two 'chief reasons' which led the Colonial Indians to leave their land of birth: (1) The desire to visit the motherland and (2) The rumour that India had obtained self-government. Now as one who has been in close touch with many of these returned emigrants for the last six years and who has visited their quarters not less than twenty times during this period, I can say that the second reason is pure fiction. When I was entrusted with the work of looking after these emigrants by Mr. Andrews and yourself, one or two persons brought forward the same reason before me and I made a thorough enquiry into it and found it absolutely without any foundation. Evidently Mr. Waiz has been misled by some of the clever people in Matiaburz.

Referring to the difficulties of these returned emigrants in India you say, "Here they are social lepers, not even knowing the language of the people." First of all I must say that most of them *do* know the language of the people. Surely they can express their ideas though not in grammatically correct Hindustani. I have myself talked with hundreds of these people in Matiaburz in Hindi and during my several visits to Matiaburz I did not come across a

single Indian whom your phrase "not even knowing the language of the people" could apply. I can definitely say that most of them have fair knowledge of speaking Hindustani. Of course they do not know literary Hindi or Urdu.

Then there is one thing more that must not be forgotten, i.e., more than eighty per cent of the returned emigrants get absorbed in the villages of India and it is only less than twenty per cent who find their way to Matiaburz, and these people in Matiaburz have been offered opportunities for settlements many a time but they have all along refused to consider them. There can be no doubt that a good many of those who are at present stranded in Matiaburz suffered at the hands of their caste people, the zamindars and the police and the pandits, but as I have said they form only a small percentage of the total number of the returned emigrants. Thus your statement requires qualification.

You approve the policy of sending these returned emigrants to the "most suitable colony that would receive them". At present only British Guiana is ready to receive them and the Government of India is willing to send some of them to that Colony. Indeed there is a steamer waiting at Calcutta for some days past. It sails on 20th. Do you approve of the idea of Fiji Indians being sent to British Guiana? I ask this question because I am afraid that the Indian Government may take advantage of this statement of yours and despatch these Fiji Indians to British Guiana. At present the number of British Guiana returned emigrants in Matiaburz does not exceed 300, while the number of Fiji-returned is more than 600. I made an enquiry in Matiaburz 10 months ago and published my conclusions in the *Chand* of Allahabad. Extracts from this article of mine were read by a member of the Fiji Legislative Council in a meeting of the Council and he moved a resolution that 500 of these Fiji people should be taken to Fiji. The resolution was passed and was taken as a unanimous expression of opinion of the elected members of the Council. Now the Governor of Fiji has written to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on this subject. So there is just a possibility of Fiji-returned emigrants being sent back to Fiji.

You have mentioned four fundamental questions raised by this problem of stranded emigrants in Matiaburz: (1) emigration policy, (2) special case of British Guiana and Fiji, (3) scope of the friendly societies and (4) the duty of the nation. You say that immediate relief should be given to the stranded emigrants in Calcutta. Now so far as the question of British Guiana returned emigrants being sent to that Colony is concerned, I entirely agree with you but I will not advise the Fiji Indians to be sent to British Guiana which has a climate very much worse than that of Fiji, which possesses an ideal climate. Indeed the four fundamental questions raised by you are inter-related and they require immediate attention. It is clear from the letter of the Government of India that they intend to recruit 500 families for British Guiana. Besides this

thousands of Indians return from the Colonies every year and there is no doubt that the Matiaburz problem is not a temporary one, it will be recurring again and again for a long time to come. We must also remember that many of the Colonial Governments have been playing one mischief, i.e., they are sending their papers to India. After having given the best portion of their lives to the Colonies these unfortunate people return to their motherland complete moral and physical wrecks and these will never make good Colonists. We know a large number of these people were sent to Mauritius more than two years ago and most of them returned to India at the cost of the Mauritius Government! In our anxiety to give these people immediate relief we must not neglect this aspect of the question, i.e., how many of them will make good Colonists. Our duty does not finish simply in despatching these people in haste to any Colony.

The whole question requires a thorough discussion among those who are interested in it and who can do something for these people. When we have done so and arrived at some conclusions then will come the time to require the Government to do its duty. The discussion suggested by me will have to be preceded by a thorough enquiry about the condition of returned emigrants in the districts from which they go to Matiaburz.

Yours etc.,
BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Young India, 23-9-1926

APPENDIX VII

ROMAIN ROLLAND'S LETTER TO MIRABEHN[1]

VILLENEUVE (VAND)
VILLA OLGA,
September 26, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I find, at last, an hour for conversing with you—, and, through you, with your Bapu.

I am replying to your letter of the end of July, and I return to my regrets that Gandhi could not take part in the conference for Christian Young Men at Helsingfors. Those regrets are accentuated since my meeting with several of these young men and with K. T. Paul.

The question is in no way, as you think, one of a fashionable enthusiasm for Gandhiji's person, or a superficial infatuation for the doctrine of Gandhi. No, there is not even a question of it,—the fact, more unexpected, but in-

[1] Translated from the French by Mirabehn

disputable, is that the person, the action, the life and the faith of Gandhi have been the strongest stimulant for European Christianity. Neither you nor Gandhi could have expected it; and it was scarcely the goal for which the Mahatma was searching. But great actions have unexpected repercussions; and often their effect equals or surpasses in importance the effect which had been expected and wished by the man of God. Because, after all, it is not he who acts; it is, by his means, God.

The fact is then that Young Christian Europe has seen in Gandhi the purest Christian (without knowing it) of today,—the man who, over and above all the priests and pastors, resumes the direct tradition with the spirit of the Gospel.

That he has found himself in possession of immense influence over these young Christians, for interpreting to them their own doctrine, and for showing them the path in an hour of agonizing uncertainties and doubts.

Once more, it may be, that Gandhi did not wish this. But once more, another greater than he willed it for him. And he has not the right to escape from it in the future. Because, however imperious may be his Indian task, the human task envelopes it and surpasses it. And whatever may be his personal faith in Hinduism,—the most ardent fire, the most divine of all faith, the eternal is that which feels sin common with all, and not that which differentiates God is in the centre of the Bush. And he who hears Him speak, and repeats what He says, speaks for all.

. . . Now, the Christianity of today is consumed by the anguish of a problem of conscience and faith, that not one of her chief's or official representatives has the power to solve. I find acute expression of this, in the works of a professor of the University of Rome which I have just received. *Ubi Christianus?* and *Dothrina di Cristo,* by Luigi Trafelli—the author, who is undoubtedly a tortured conscience, starts with the declaration that the "Metanoia" or "evangelical conversion" where the preaching of Jesus begins, is an absolute overthrow and the complete transformation of the values, which, in the normal life of men, are the most appreciated. It is necessary to strip "the old man" and to redress "the new man", who will not be able to enter into the Kingdom of God, if he does not sacrifice all half-duties to the whole duty, and all compromises of the world to the will of perfection. "Be thou then perfect as is thy Father in Heaven." No concessions to the world. "Leave all and follow Me."

Now, after having examined the perpetual conflicts of this order with the worldly order, and all the "combinations" imagined by the Church and the pseudo-believers, for reconciling them, Luigi Trafelli asks himself the mournful question: "Do Christians still exist?" and concludes: "No, they exist no more,"—and he admits himself: "I am not a Christian."—but adds: "At least, I have not got the hypocrisy to call myself Christian, as do the churches, while betraying the express word of Christ."

This question is made particularly tragic owing to the social crisis, which is passing over Europe,—the world—(and especially the country which is the seat of official catholicism, Italy).

At the present hour, the power of the State in Italy has reached a sovereignty which is veritably demoniac. Everything is sacrificed to it, religious conscience is trampled under its feet. The individual soul is annihilated. He who resists the "public will" (translated by one or two leaders who incarnate it) is or will be crushed. A Mussolini, with formidable cynicism, displays this doctrine, accepted by millions of Italians, which will certainly spread before long in Europe and America (above all, in America).

Now, what are the guides of religious conscience doing at this hour? They dare not take the responsibility of the nameless sufferings into which they would throw those who ask their advice, by saying to them, "Resist! Be persecuted!"—the worst, the most mediocre think of their tranquillity. The best remind themselves of old Tolstoy who was in despair at seeing his disciples persecuted while he could not succeed in getting persecuted himself: because power is too cunning not to treat with care the men who are in broad daylight, and severely the obscure. The result is that all search for and teach compromises—the inner lie; and the soul degrades itself.

The young men realize this, they listen for the voice of the gospel which will say to them:

"The duty is there—the voice speaks not. They are left—it is for this reason that so many young Christians look towards Gandhi.

. . . You say to me, my friend, that it is for me to reply to them. . . . No. I cannot. It is necessary to see me as I am, and not lend to me a faith, thoughts, a mission that I have not got.

I am not a Christian, I am not a Gandhist, I am not a believer in a revealed religion. I am a man of the Occident who, in all love and in all sincerity, searches for the truth. That which I strive to teach to myself is for others, it is never to belie one's own thoughts, never to say that one knows that which one only "believes" or hopes, to say exactly that which one knows,—nothing more,—and, be it that one understands or does not understand, to conserve intact energy and love. The word of the Introduction to *The Life of Michael Angelo* "See men and life as they are,—and as they are, love them and act . . ."

There is my role. And it is also to discover and make known to others all the sources of strength, all the hearths of light, which exist in the world. To the heroes and the saints I say: "Take, and drink!"

But my role is not to speak in the name of a religion which I have not. Let those speak who have!

. . . We have lately had a visit from a gay American who is making an express tour of all the celebrated men of the globe; five minutes for each one. His name is Buchanan, and he has seen Gandhi at the beginning of the

year. He says that Gandhi said, regarding my book on him: "It is literature" ("*C'est de la litterature*")—No, it is not altogether just. It should be said: "It is love" ("*C'est de l'amour*"). Everybody knows that love does not see very exactly. My book must often be erroneous. How could it be otherwise? I knew nothing of the atmosphere of India, or of the language. I made the *tour de force* in six to twelve months, from imagination, after the books I had read, all a great life, and that of a people who were far away and unknown to me. It was very audacious! But love did not give me the liberty not to imagine, and—that which I loved, my joy, my enthusiasm,—not to share them with my brothers of Europe. In that, I believe I have succeeded. If I have sometimes often mispresented the character and the thought of Gandhi, may he pardon me. I have often asked myself what Christ would have thought of the narratives of his disciples! In any case, true or false, I have not written for "literature". (The litterateurs scarcely consider me as one of them). I wrote to relieve my heart.

. . . We are pretty well, in spite of the fact that I have just been laid up for a fortnight with intestinal fever. Madeleine has spent a little time in Savoie and we have had beautiful walks together. Since August the splendour of the summer has been marvellous.

I am not surprised that you feel yourself "at home" in India. Did not you tell us that you have gipsy blood? And you have seen that, according to the latest discoveries the gipsies unquestionably had India for their cradle. You return to your point of departure.

Madeleine and I send you our most affectionate thoughts. To Bapu my filial respect,—in spite of the fact that I am corporally older than him. But the soul belongs to other cycles of time to the body.

Yours,
ROMAIN ROLLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 12174

SOURCES

(*The*) *Bombay Chronicle*: English newspaper published from Bombay.

Forward: English daily started by C. R. Das from Calcutta.

GANDHI SMARAK SANGRAHALAYA, NEW DELHI: Central Museum and Library of Gandhian Literature and documents; *vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

Gujarati: Weekly issued in Gujarati from Bombay.

(*The*) *Hindu*: English newspaper issue from Madras, started as a weekly in 1878, became a tri-weekly in 1883 and a daily since 1889.

(THE) MANUSCRIPT OF MAHADEV DESAI'S DIARY: Kept in Swarajya Ashram, Bardoli.

My Dear Child: Ed. Alice M. Barnes, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1956.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA: Documents preserved in the National Archives of India.

Navajivan (1919-31): Gujarati weekly (with occasional bi-weekly issues) edited by Gandhiji and published from Ahmedabad; first issued on September 7, 1919. It was converted from *Navajivan ane Satya*, Gujarati monthly (1915-19). Also issued in Hindi from August 19, 1921.

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad (Hindi): Ed. Kaka Kalelkar, Jamnalal Bajaj Trust, Wardha, 1953.

Romain Rolland Birthday-Book: Published by Toroppel–Verlag, Zurich, 1926.

SABARMATI SANGRAHALAYA: Library and records containing documents relating to Gandhiji's South African period and Indian period up to 1933; *vide* Vol. I, pp. 349-50.

The Searchlight: English daily published from Patna.

Young India (1918-31): English weekly founded by Jamnadas Dwarkadas at Bombay; from May 7, 1919, published bi-weekly under Gandhiji's supervision; from October, 1919, issued as a weekly from Ahmedabad with Gandhiji as editor.

CHRONOLOGY

(*June 15–November 4, 1926*)

June 15: Gandhiji in Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati.

Before *June 19:* In message to Nellore Adi-Andhra Conference asked for spread of charkha and eradication of untouchability.

July 11: Anniversary of C. R. Das was observed all over India with meetings and processions.

July 15: Hindu-Muslim riots broke out in Calcutta.

July 26: On the eve of Lokamanya Tilak's death anniversary Gandhiji sent message to Maharashtra that khadi and charkha were the means of winning swaraj.

August 15: Met Natarajan, editor of *Indian Daily Mail* and *Indian Social Reformer*, at the Ashram.

September 18: Left Ahmedabad for Bombay to receive South African Delegation.

September 19: In Bombay gave interview to *The Natal Advertiser*. Attended Garden Party in honour of South African Delegation. Left for Ahmedabad at night.

September 20: Reached Ahmedabad.

September 26: Discussed Indian question in South Africa with representatives from South Africa.

October 10: Executed his Will.

October 17: Gave interview to Associated Press of India on personnel of Indian Delegation to Round Table Conference.

October 24: Addressed annual meeting of the Labour Union, Ahmedabad, held at the Ashram.

November 1: Left Ahmedabad for Bombay to see Sir Ganga Ram and others.

November 2: Returned to Ahmedabad from Bombay.

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ERRATA

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276	Item 300	—	to be omitted
316	Line 1	eighth year	sixth year
317	Item 343	Let all follow Krishna is doing duty.	Message let all follow Krishna in doing duty.
330	Footnote 1	*Vide* "Principal Dhruva and National Education", 8-8-1926.	*Vide* "Triumph of Civil Disobedience", 12-8-1926.
366	Title	Narsinhprasad	Nanabhai
529	Item 573	From a microfilm	From a microfilm of the Gujarati
561	Appendix II, paragraph 2, line 6	readers	leaders
566	Line 8	countries	countless

CORRIGENDA

PAGE		FOR	READ
77	Item 91, paragraph 2, line 8	*D' Indiscipline des moeurs*[1]	*L' Indiscipline des Moeurs*
188	Line 3	of[2]	if
522	Line 7, first word	ahimsa[3]	*himsa*

[1], [2] & [3] As in the source